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WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF TEN TANZANIAN VILLAGES

A Report prepared for

Arusha Planning and Village Development Project

Arusha, Tanzania

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Best Available Document

The study lasted [illegible] eight weeks, conducted mostly in the months of February and March, 1981. Roughly three weeks were devoted to investigation which focused on ten villages in three APVDP pilot wards. Over 100 women were informally interviewed, individually or in groups. Three further weeks were concerned with the identification and formulation of projects with groups of women in four different villages. Fifteen formal meetings were held in this period, over half of which included participation by Village Council members. The final two weeks of the project were taken up with finalising project proposals and the writing of this report.

The study was conducted solely in Hanang (District), one of three Districts in which the APVDP is operating. The Consultant worked closely with the Rural Development Specialist (RDS) stationed in Hanang and the District Ujamaa na Ushirika Officer (DUCDO). Several other District Functional Heads and the District Development Director (DDD) were consulted periodically. All village work was conducted in the company of the Hanang District Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT) Chairperson, for whom the study was regarded as a training exercise in project identification and formulation. One Katibu Tarafa (Bashnet) and two Katibu Kata (Gallapo, Magugu) were also closely involved. Considerable assistance was given by the Rural Development Specialist of Arumeru District who provided the Consultant with a wealth of background-reading material.

The findings of this study are not presented in accordance with the five tasks specified. The impact of development generally on women in the three Wards covered is examined and the impact of the APVDP evaluated in this context. The role of women in productive activities is detailed and their decision-making role in production examined in that context. Although the findings of the more active work of formulating development projects directly involving women are detailed, the actual project proposals arising out of this work are not provided here. Summaries of each are however given in an Appendix. The full proposals have been submitted independently to the Region by the District for approval and APVDP funding support.

II. BACKGROUND

1. National Policy on Women's Development in Tanzania

The issue of human equality is a major concern of socialist Tanzania. Expressions of this focus however, on the question of equality between socio-economic classes, not the sexes. The equality of men and women citizens is considered implicit in all discussions of equality, and laws or policy statements specifically addressing the problem of sexual equality are rare. It is significant that in not one of the twelve or so now famous Tanzanian Presidential papers or Party documents[1] is the problem of sexual equality concretely addressed.

The Law

Adjustments to the largely Colonial body of law which was carried over into Independence in 1961 have had to be made from time to time as the implications of legal sexual equality make themselves felt. Both Mbilinyi (1972) and Swantz (1976) identify the most critical of these adjustments to date to have been the Law of Marriage Act (1971) which unified diverse marriage laws and made legally effective the equality of women in the marriage union. It specified the right of wives to declare and keep their union monogamous, the establishment of minimum ages for marriage, and the provision of some rights of inheritance to widows.

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1 Including : Ujamaa - The Basis of African Socialism (1962)
The Arusha Declaration (1967)
Socialism is not Racialism (1967)
Education for Self-Reliance (1967)
The Varied Paths to Socialism (1967)
Socialism and Rural Development (1967)
After the Arusha Declaration (1967)
Progress in the Rural Area (1968)
The Rational Choice (1973)
The Musoma Declaration (1974)
The Mwongozo Declaration (1971)
The Arusha Declaration Ten years After (1977)

Since 1971 Amendments have been made to other Acts directly affecting women most notably the Maternity Law (1975) which provides maternity benefits to all women irrespective of their marital status. In at least one instance a prominent industrial concern was challenged when it took steps to avoid the implications of this Amendment.[1] Still, legal protection for the rights of women are far from comprehensive and a number of traditional practices continue to debase their equal status with no recourse to law. One such omission concerns the ownership of land, houses and other assets within the bonds of marriage. The implications of this will become clear in the course of this report.

Policies

Both Government and Party recognise that the law on its own does not effect equality between the sexes, and there has been a sporadic initiative since Independence to give body to the principles of sexual equality. As elsewhere in the world particular attention was paid to this in International Women's Year (1975). Women were appointed to Ministerial positions, Regional and Area Commissioner posts, and the number of women in Parliament rose to 17 (Swantz, 1976). In addition funds for women's activities were increased, and numerous speeches made by politicians at all levels, including the Presindet himself, on the important role of women in society. As also elsewhere in the world,[2] the actions taken in 1975 bore the mark of tokenism, and with the ending of 1975 [illegible] activity subsided. The fact that International Women's Year was meant merely to introduce the International Decade of Women was forgotten.

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1. As quoted by Swantz (1976) when Urafiki Textiles tried to reduce its female labour force because of the maternity leave right.

2. Details of action taken in many countries are contained in Measures and Activities Taken in Connection with International Women's Year Report of the Secretary General UN A/10263, 2 October, 1975.

Perhaps the most serious attempt to make real the supposed equality between men and women to date was made with the establishment of Ujamaa villages. From the outset it wasmade clear that all men and women over 18 years were to be registered as village members independently. Women would in this way receive remuneration directly for their participation in communal labour and plots could have been allocated to them individually. If the policy had worked the income-earning capacity of rural women in Tanzania, the majority, and their status would have greatly improved. As will be shown later the circumstances of women in rural villages is not significantly better today than it was prior to the important Ujamaa policy of the early seventies.

Special efforts made in the field of education also require singling out. Although the ratio of students in primary, secondary and tertiary education remains strongly in favour of males[1] each National Five Year Development Plan has seen a slow but steady increase in female students. Concrete steps have been taken to accelerate this: for example the current Five Plan period (1976 - 1981) has seen a heavy investment in Girls Secondary Schools, direct entry to University for females and other measures. Whether these do in fact effectively tackle the lag in women's education is not a direct concern here. What is important to note is simply that a firm and active commitment to assist women educationally has long existed in Tanzania, and there is every evidence that this initiative will continue into the next Long Term Plan period (1981 - 2000).

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1. On average girls comprise 46% of primary school students, 30% of Form 1 entrants, 20% of Form Five entrants, 15% of university entrants. (A Profile and Analysis of Government Manpower in Arusha Region, L. Wily 1980 (APVDP Arusha, Vol.1 Cht. VI).

Despite these special efforts the outstanding characteristic of national policy towards women is the underlying assumption that their needs are/will be met through general programmes and policies affecting all citizens. A reading of national documents of all kinds suggest a marked reluctance to single out the problems of women beyond the well-marked boundaries of their role as child-bearers and raisers.[1] The study found this reluctance mirrored at the operational levels of Region, District, and even within village governments themselves. The suggestion that Arusha Region might focus upon the productive sector problems of womens development as an element of its strategy for the next twenty years was recently rejected allegedly on the grounds that 'women's needs are automatically catered to along with everyone elses in our productive programmes. There is no need to single them out'.[2] The issue of whether women's development in the Region should come under special focus is central to the final discussion of this report.

Meanwhile the institutional commitments made in regard to women's development precisely reflect the extent to which it may currently be tackled as a distinct issue. Both party and government have women's programmes: the Party through the establishment of Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT), and Government through the Women's Division of Ujamaa na Ushirika. Both departments are staffed by individuals with a background of Domestic Science.

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1. Villageisation was heralded among other things as helping women by reducing the distance to water points, and offering better health, childcare and educational facilities (Swantz, 1976). The implication is that these matters are of greater concern to women than men, a telling perspective on the unchanged role of men and women in domestic duty-sharing.

2. Regional Planning Team Committee (February, 1981).

This fact is either the result of, or the cause of, or merely reinforces the limited concept of what women's development in Tanzania should or could comprise. The Ujamaa programme is heavily orientated towards domestic science activities. The programme of the UWT is more concerned to promote women working together, and in practice promotes self-help and income-generating projects for women. But it too is constrained by a narrow concept of the woman as home-maker in the projects it promotes as suitable. The exception to this is the widespread establishment of women's shambas in the villages.

The origins of the domestic science focus are not entirely clear. Observers of other countries (e.g. Staudt (1978) in relation to Kenya), have singled out colonial and church influences. and more recently the dominance of middle-class women in post-Independence Africa who have perpetuated those perceptions. The persistence of this focus in Tanzania is curious however. As early as the Arusha Declaration (1967) the critical role of women in agricultural production was noted, for example. Since then a growing awareness of their equal role in all elements of society has repeatedly been observed. In practice however little has been done to make real the recognition of women as equal producers and development action in general remains male-orientated. Neither have women's programmes done anything to tackle the ommissions and the government programme in particular stands as a virtual hangover of colonial mentality. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that 'women's development' receives so little support, and is on the contrary viewed almost with embarrasment.

It is the view of this study that the failure of Women's Development to mature conceptually is proving women's own worst enemy. That is, women in Tanzania cannot look to Women's Development as it currently exists, for the guidance and assistance

they require to tackle the more critical constraints to the realizationof their equal status and their development. Matters of home management, nutrition and health care are real and important concerns, and attention to needs in these areas justified. As later chapters of this report will show however, attention to these alone does little to improve the status and condition of rural women. On the contrary it reinforces the traditional widely - held belief that women should not go beyond the home.

2. Women's Development in Arusha Region:

The situation in the Region vis a vis Women's Development reflects the problems described above. As is the case nationally action by government is focused and spearheaded by the Department of Ujamaa na Ushirika which has a Women's Co-ordinator. She and her staff in the Districts are Home Economists.

Until a year or so ago there was no Women's Programme in the Region or Women's Co-ordinators. With the amalgamation of Community Development and Co-operatives under the Prime Minister's Office in 1972, what action there was for women was effectively lost as Ujamaa staff concentrated on village book-keeping and training. Before that time Community Development had trained and fielded Bibi Maendeleo, whose function was to help women in the villages start projects. Many of these officers were allegedly effective (Von Freyhold, 1979), starting a range of sewing, knitting, garden and other domestic science projects.

With the reappearance of an active Women's Programme in the last few years in the Region similar projects and personnel have also reappeared. In the field it is female UCDA's who promote women's development. Like their predecessors, Bibi Maendeleo, they are trained in Domestic Science.

The Official programme of the Regional Women's Office is called "Work Plan for Home Economics for Women and Children". The Plan identified seven key objectives for 1980/81:

1. Conducting Research into family life in the Region;
2. Holding a training workshop for District Home Economists and other staff (e.g. MCH Clinic programme leaders, Home Economists under Education);
3. Holding short courses for Leaders of Women's Groups who have initiated projects;
4. Conducting training courses for village women in childcare, nutrition health and sanitation, home management and improvement, sewing etc;
5. Providing advice on women's activities;
6. Providing advice on Day Care Centres;
7. Improving existing women's projects.

Due to 'shortage of funds' (the Division received 30,000/- for the year), not a great deal of this Plan has in fact been [illegible] Of perhaps most interest are the 70 or so 'existing projects', started by village women, which the Women's Programme pledges itself to assist and improve.

	PROJECTS	NUMBER OF WOMEN INVOLVED
Arusha	6	340
Mbulu	21	1,943
Hanang	12	635
Arumeru	13	1,168
Monduli	12	321
Ngorongoro	7	157
Kiteto	2	105
	73	4,669

The type of projects are :-

Shops	-	17
Farms	-	22
Sewing	-	9
Bars	-	4
Beer Brewing	-	4
Hotels	-	4
Maize Mills	-	2
Vegetables	-	1
Weaving	-	1
Pottery	-	1
Mat-making	-	2
Cloth selling	-	2
Tea shops	-	2
Charcoal burning	-	1
Bead making	-	1

It would be misleading to assume that all these projects are operating successfully. As the later section on village projects in Hanang will show probably the majority of these projects "are standing on one leg" as an Ujamaa Officer called it, collapsed or on the verge of collapse. Reasons for these failures are given elsewhere.

A limited amount of assistance to these projects[1] has also derived from SIDO, which holds overall responsibility for promoting small productive projects. Although SIDO has no special mandate for working with women, and no staff to do so, it responds where it can to requests from village and urban women's groups. More often than not these are channelled through either the UWT, or Ujamaa.

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1 Projects assisted by SIDO are mostly in Arumeru District: pottery at Singisi, Knitting at Singisi, basket-weaving at Poli, handloom weaving at Akheri. A garment manufacturing project has been established in Monduli. In addition assistance has been given to three women's groups operating in Arusha town, including tie and dye and sisal carpet production and a dry-cleaning service.

Meanwhile the Department of Education has a programme of reaching women through its own Home Economics Programme, centred on teaching the subject in schools and to adults through its Adult Education Programme. Until recently the Department of Agriculture had its own women's component, yet again a Home Economist, who was supposed to work with women on garden projects.[1]

The Department of Health deals directly with women through its Mother and Child Health (MCH) programme, a considerable success in the Region and country generally (Alger, 1980, Yoder, 1980). The Mradi wa Afya project currently operating in Hanang District takes this contact astep further, establishing Village Health Workers and committees who focus on hygiene, sanitation and nutrition issues in villages. Typically this programme is almost entirely orientated to female villagers, although in some instances efforts have been made to involve men.

The Ministry of Health also provides the staff for a Family Planning facility, known as UMATI (Uzazi'wa Malezi Bora Tanzania). This independent unit is charged with providing family planning and parent hood education throughout the country, and also contraceptives are provided. A Regional Teacher heads the programme with staff in each District.[2]

Finally from Government comes a programme in the Region to initiate village and urban child Day Care Centres, designed to free women of this burden. Most Centres have been established in Arumeru District. Their success and management were not evaluated by this study.

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1. The , ›st is currently not filled.

2. The advantages of child-spacing are stressed in the teaching programmes; parents are not advised directly to have smaller families, either for their own purposes or as a means of reducing the high population growth rate of the country generally.

The programme derives from the office of the Social Welfare Department (under Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare) which works directly from Dar as Salaam i.e. it is not part of the decentralised Directorates. A Social Welfare Officer is posted in each District; in Hanang the success of this officer in establishing centres is small. To date only 4 have begun, 2 in Babati.

(ii) Party:

Umoja Wanawake Tanzania (UWT) was initiated in 1962, and although it is still known as UWT it has more properly been known as JWT (Jumuiya ya Wanawake Tanzania) since 1977 when TANU became CCM. UWT, along with four other Jumuiya[1] are recognised integral elements of the overall party, CCM. Most of these are well-established organizations in their own right employing their own Secretaries. Only UWT remains without a provision from the Party to cover the costs of employing Secretaries at any level. These officers, the only permanent and full-time staff of UWT, are Home Economics staff seconded to UWT from the Ujamaa Department by the Prime Minister's Office.[2] The relationship between Government and Party in this instance could hardly be closer.

Village UWT's exist automatically wherever a CCM office is established (in practice a Village Council, as the Chairman of the Village Council is automatically Chairman of the Village (CCM).

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1. Jumuiya ya Wazazi (Parents) Jumuiya ya Vijana (Youth) Jumuiya ya Wafanyakazi (Workers, otherwise known as Juwata) and Jumuiya ya Washirika (Cooperative Union).

2. This began in 1974 as a 'temporary measure' to assist UWT.

For this reason it is difficult to calculate the number of village UWT's. All villages theoretically have a UWT. In those villages where Chairwomen and Secretaries have been elected, UWT Cards have been issued. There are currently some 16,000 such card-holder in the Region (3% of all women in the Region).

Regional and District Chairwomen of the UWT receive a small salary from the Party. Their job is viewed as a part-time pursuit. No training is given these leaders who nonetheless hold the post for five years.[1] Secretaries are said to be 'trained' which usually means that they were trained as UCDA's before being seconded to UWT.

Although UWT Chairwomen and Secretaries stress that co-operation with both Party and Government is excellent all complained that they receive financial support from neither. Their only source of funds is the annual collection of fees from members or from the distribution of Cards.[2]

The current key project of the Regional UWT Office is to build a women's hostel in Arusha town similar to those constructed by the YMCA. To help achieve this 50 acres of good farming land have been allocated to Regional UWT, in Gallapo, Hanang District, from which the organization hopes to earn an income.

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1. District Chairwomen are elected by village UWT's; the Regional Chairwoman by the District Committees.

2. Members pay 3/- each for a UWT Card. 1/- of this remains with the Village UWT, 1/- goes to the District UWT, 1/- to the Regional UWT Office. The annual fee paid by members is 6/-. Three shillings of this remains with the Village UWT to pay the Chairwoman and Secretary a small salary, and to cover administrative expenses. Of the remaining 3/-, one shilling remains at the District, one goes to the Region and one to the National Office of UWT.

The main task of the Regional UWT is of course to support District UWT's, who in turn are to support village UWT's. In practice support is limited. Due to transport constraints few visits are made to villages, and when they are made, are largely limited to exhortation to the women to either form a UWT, to do better, or for the purpose of raising funds for one purpose or another. Meetings between District and Regional UWT committees are however frequent. However, "we are not doing very much" the Hanang UWT Chairwoman admitted. "We always talk about the same problems but we never have the solution". The main problems as she perceived it were funds, transport, and the lack of co-operation or 'readiness' of village women.

(iii) Non-Government Organizations:

Finally, a number of nongovernment agencies run small projects designed to assist women. Included is the YMCA and a number of Christian Churches. Perhaps the most active of these in Arusha Region is the Lutheran Church, which has a UWW - Umoja wa Wanawake wa Waluteri - organization throughout its churches. The key objective of UWW is to bring women together for religious instruction, in what might otherwise be known as Bible Groups. In addition most of these groups are encouraged and assisted to establish income-generating projects (farms, sewing groups, etc), at least in part to raise money for church activities. Home Economics courses are also given to these women's groups : lessons in childcare, cooking, hygiene and sewing.

Three larger production projects are run by the UWW; a farm project in Oldonyosambo which runs a small number of cows, pigs and a garden; a maize farm in S/Lucy, also in Arumeru District,

which provides grain for courses run by the Church, and more recently a pottery project established in Hanang District.

The Roman Catholic Church also forms women's group in each of its Churches, and there are a number of Catholic Women's Shambas in each District. For the mostpart however the returns of these go directly and entirely to the Church and cannot be viewed as income-generating for the women themselves.

To conclude, Women's Development in the Region is not very encouraging. Not only is the total sum of action extremely small but what is taking place is ill-supported on the one hand, and, as pointed out earlier, effectively confined to the needs of rural women in the home, on the other.

In neither of the critical productive sectors, agriculture and livestock, are programmes designed to reach women farmers. Small Industries Development tends to by-pass women as poor managers and disinterested parties, despite, as will be shown, their widespread involvement in small scale production of handicrafts and utility items. More broadly, the sum effect is that the needs of rural women are still by and large falling beyond the bounds of development.

III. THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT UPON VILLAGE WOMEN : A CASE STUDY OF TEN VILLAGES

Before examining the impact of the APVDP upon village women, which is a key purpose of this study, it is as well to look briefly at how developments prior to the advent of that project have affected village women. First, an overview of ten villages in Hanang where the APVDP project is currently operating.

1. The Ten Villages

The following villages form the case study;
Qameyo, Madunga Kati and Utwari in Madunga Ward;
Gallapo, Ayamango, Halla and Majengo in Gallapo Ward;
and Magugu, Mapea and Gichameda in Magugu Ward;
No villages from the fourth APVDP Pilot Ward, Katesh, were included in the study. Nonetheless the ten villages chosen were judged by the Hanang Rural Development Specialist as being not only representative of three Pilot Wards, but for many other villages in Hanang.

The three pilot Wards of Gallapo, Magugu and Madunga are distinct from each other in almost every respect: ethnic composition, altitude, rainfall and other ecological characteristics, agricultural activities, etc. These differences probably determined their selection as Pilot Wards in the first place. Detailed descriptions of each Ward are found in the original AP/VDP Project paper (July 1976).

It is difficult to determine which factor has had the greatest impact on the current, very different status of each of the three Wards.

Ethnic differences certainly continue to play a major part, but so also does the inherent ecological nature of each Ward. It is difficult to determine, that is, if Madunga is 'backward' in comparison to Gallapo and Magugu because of a different degree of accessibility, a difference in productivity of the land, or a difference in the social organization and aspirations of the populations which settled these areas.

Certainly a strong comparison may be drawn between Madunga Ward and Gallapo Ward. In the former a homogenous community of Wairaq speakers is found whose livestyle is not greatly different from that of their forefathers who settled the high-altitude ridge over a hundred years ago. Operation Vijiji (1973-76) for example, had little impact on the Ward beyond determining that what was one community would be three distinct villages. No houses were moved to symbolise this. Village Councils are looked upon with some suspicion by the most conservative elements of the community, and a surprising number of women in the three villages indicated that development and changes were of no interest to them. While all three villages have primary schools and two villages have access to dispensaries, the Ward has fallen beyond the mainstream of national, regional and district development activities. Hoe agriculture is practised with not a single ox-plough, tractor or ox-cart in the Ward. So-called improved practices in both agriculture and livestock-keeping do not exist in Madunga Ward. Productivity is low and despite large numbers of livestock, the standard of living is low, the people on the whole poor, and the Village Councils without resources. Problems with hygiene and health abound with the persistence of the traditional 'communal' housing of people and animals together in low, smoky, shelters.

By comparison Gallapo Ward is typical of 'modern' rural Tanzania, wealthy, highly productive agriculturally, well-served by facilities, extension and other government staff, and 'progressive' on all fronts: agricultural practices, housing, village organization, etc. The population of the area is said to have doubled in the last ten years, farmers attracted from as far away as Arusha (Warusha) to this prime agricultural land which produces a higher yield of maize than any other area in the Region. With an estimated 150 tractors available in the Ward, and the same number of ox-ploughs again, hoe - ploughing is becoming rare. Village Councils are able to collect such large funds from a tax on maize produced that the number of village self-help projects probably exceeds that of any other Ward in the District. Thomas (1980) reports that one village alone was able to make a 100,000/- Tsh. contribution to a Secondary School being established in the area (1979) and is raising yet another contribution for the purchase of a bus. Although around five or six distnct ethnic groups now live in Gallapo Ward[1] a sense of cohesiveness and 'allegiance' to the Ward is in evidence. This study found the differences between the eight villages, with different ethnic groups dominant, notably less significant than the overriding 'progressiveness' of the entire Ward. Village Councils are strong and active, vying with each other to secure District or Church resources.

Magugu Ward presents a different case again. Like Gallapo it has seen a rapid population growth in the last ten years, and in parts is suffering from chronic land shortage. Also like Gallapo a number of its villages were formed only at the time of Operation Vijiji (or later).

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1. Including Waufiome, Warusha, Wairaq, Wagorowa, Warangi.

It is frequently claimed that up to 40 distinct ethnic groups reside within Magugu Ward, and for this reason it is sometimes referred to as a genuine "Swahili" settlement. This factor, along with the economic origins of many of the new settlers creates an ambiance in Magugu Ward that is markedly different from that found in either Gallapo or Madunga. Thomas (1980) describes this in regard to Gichameda, one of the ten villages examined by this study.

"Gichameda is made up of settled labor migrants and is the creation of Operation Villagization. While few of the expatriate-owned estates in Magugu Ward, which originally attracted the migrants are still operating, the legacies of an estate-oriented economy very much define Gichameda today: heterogeneity, target employment and wage-earning orientation, quasi-urban organization and values, and dependency. Within the village, there is a great deal of individualism, poor yields from the village (communal) farm reveal its low priority, land is rented out to agricultural entrepreneurs very readily, there is a level of cash basedness to transactions that is unusual in much of rural Arusha region, and officials demean the village leaders, characterizing them as being more capable of talk than any positive action. Perhaps the greatest conditioner of villagers' economic orientation is the fact that Gichameda borders a NAFCO farm, is near other estates, and villagers frequently have the option of working as casual wage labourers (earning Tsh. 13/10 per day) rather than working on their own land or for the village. Officials, feeling responsible for initiating development in the area, often despair; they refer to the population collogually as Manamba, because of their attitudes of servility and dependency, and relate especially, it seems, to those who rent others' land and are production oriented." (P. 57-8).

The differences between the three Wards studied should not be emphasised to the extent that the similarities are ignored. People in all three Wards share a peasant economy and problems common to all rural dwellers in Tanzania, ranging from the shortage of consumerables to eduational opportunities, from facilities to fair prices for crops. They also share a system of local government and the implications of a set of national policies which go a long way in determining their lifestyle, aconomy and opportunites.

These same socio-economic and political realities impact upon the issue of most concern here, the role and status of village women in Tanzania, and [illegible] prove more significant to the issues at hand than the differences that distinguish each Ward.

COMPARISON OF POPULATIONS OF THREE PILOT WARDS

HANANG

MADUNGA WARD	TOTAL POPULATION	NO. HOUSEHOLDS
Qameyu	2,700	450
Utwari	1,442	260
Madunga Kati	2,352	382
	6,494	1,092
Gallapo Ward		
Gallapo	2,690	594
Ayamango	1,678	325
Majengo	1,125	300
Halla	936	230
Tsamasi	2,796	550
Gadamar	970	310
Orng'adida	1,780	379
Qash	1,937	560
	13,912	3,248
Magugu Ward		
Magugu	2,313	555
Mapaa	816	206
Gichameda	606	146
Sarame	681	209
Mawemairo	1,422	341
Masware	678	192
Matufa	1,842	553
	8,358	2,202

(10 villages examined by this study underlined)

2. <u>The Impact of Development and Change Generally Since Independence</u>

No one may doubt that a great many changes have taken place in Tanzania since 1961, and that these have reached into the very heart of rural society, the village. Innumerable volumes and reports describe these changes. It is not difficult to extrapolate from these their likely impact upon village women, ranging from the reprecussions of urbanization and migration, the improvement in educational and health opportunities, to the impact of villageization.

It is remarkable therefore that so few women interviewed by this study (around 100) were able to identify developments or changes since Independence which had an impact, negative or positive, upon their lives. The question and time scale were perhaps difficult, but it cannot be interpolative to wonder if 'development' since Independence (and probably before it) has perhaps had very little impact on the lives of village women.

Of the few women who did respond to the question (11) the answer was uniform: the provision of either water or a clinic service to their village represented a development which had the most significant impact upon their lives. One of the eleven added that Ujamaa had "helped all people to work together". No one identified negative developments, although in the context of a later question, many 'life problems' were identified, among them, the lack of good water supplies and/or health services.

Although the number of respondents to the question described above was small, the answer reinforces a more general finding of the study that health-related issues and developments are a major concern of village women, and that it is unjustified to dismiss such developments as " unproductive".

In a good many instances poor hygiene and resulting poor health constitute a key constraint to developing the productive potential of women - most simply, they spend an inordinate amount of time caring for sick children, visiting the clinic, or ailing themselves.

The importance of health service developments to women was most explicit in Madunga Ward, where the provision of a dispensary and clinic[1] represents one of the few tangible developments in the Ward since Independence. This fact does not account alone, however for the enthusiasm shown by women for the service. Nor is its impact confined to the availability of education, diagnosis, care or drugs the service provides. On the contrary the feature of the service singled out by many women in Madunga Ward as most attractive was, in the words of one :

"When we go to Clinic the men know they have to stay and mind the home".

In a community where "men of my tribe are not used to giving women a pass to leave the home, even to go to the shop" (Village Chairman, Madunga Kati) this is no mean impact.

It is the omissions in the statements made by women, and the fact so few women could call to mind any significant developments or changes, that is of most interest here however. Schools, adult literacy classes, parastatal marketing services, maize mills, extension officers, the establishment of Village Councils, Churches, and a host of other changes, facilities and services did not appear to warrant mention.

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1. Government Dispensary (1973) at Utwari and R.C. run clinic at Qameyu which operates for 3 days every month.

When prompted, woman agreed that these developments, where they had taken place, were beneficial to them. For the most-part however where the facilities were operating successfully (e.g. a Maize Mill) it was taken for granted. Where a facility was not operating well, women undermined its positive impact with complaints. In some instances the failure of a water supply, clinic or maize mill to operate well, seemed a greater inconvenience to them than if the facility did not exist at all. Women were particularly reluctant to confirm the value of private-owned facilities, such as maize mills.

There was one area of activity that elicited a strongly facourable response once women were reminded of it. This concerned the establishment of women's projects. Despite the fact that in all villages where projects had been begun, they had either failed or were currently in difficulties, the enthusiasm for 'projects' was considerable, and woman anxious to emphasise the importance with which they viewed them.

Extension

With the exception of the provision of facilities (schools, dispensaries etc) the major development input in the villages of Tanzania since Independence has comprised extension - the provision of expertise and advice (and sometimes physical inputs). It is therefore interesting that not a single extension service was identified by women interviewed as having had any impact upon them.

One service which has recently reached all ten villages in the study is the Mradi wa Afya,[1] a preventative health

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1. Mradi wa Afya: involves the training of two leaders from each village. These lead health meetings. Each ten-house cell appoints a representative who attends the meeting. The representatives are instructed in record-keeping (diseases) in their cell. All aspects of health education are covered in the weekly meetings.

programme which trains village health workers to conduct health education in the village. In view of the enthusiasm expressed for Clinic and Mother and Child Health services it is paradoxical that the impact of this important project appears to have been so small. Attendance of members of the Village Health Groups is uniformly low, and in some villages, the regular health meetings have dwindled entirely. Leaders of the groups, themselves usually female villagers, blamed 'disinterest" preoccupation with other duties, etc, as causes. Village Council personnel more often blamed the inadequate training and/or inadequately strong personality of the Village Health Worker herself. In any event, despite considerable support from Village Councils and Party officials the programme is not having the desire impact in eight of the ten villages visited and, in some, possibly no impact at all.

All three Wards have been at the receiving end of concentrated agricultural extension programmes in the last five years. The high altitude Madunga Ward along with Bashanet provided the focus for Pyrethrum Board activities. Fifteen acres of land in Madunga Kati Village were granted to the Pyrethrum Board to start a Pyrethrum Farm (1978). Up to fifty labourers, men and women, were employed to plant and manage the pyrethrum plants. At the end of 1980 the Pyrethrum Board declared it had no further funds to run the farm and the plants were distributed to villagers. The Pyrethrum Officer stationed in Bashanet was to continue to provide extension to the villagers in the care of this crop. Many problems have been experienced, including climatic ones, and a minority of households have continued with the crop, mostly in ¼ acre plots. The total cash return on the crop for the whole Ward is just over 10,000/= amongst around 100 households, (100/ = per household). This return is considered inadequate for the continual labour required to maintain the crop.

Women carry out most work on the crop, and when interviewed said they maintained plots only because they had been given the plants. They had no intention of extending these.

At a meeting held in Madunga kati village in February 1981 women complained bitterly about the Pyrethrum Project. They claimed that they had been told that pyrethrum would become their major cash crop and that their 'lives would change'. They regretted that no experiments on the crop had been performed prior to the establishment of the farm, and that their hopes had been raised. The Pyrethrum Officer, who continues to reside in nearby Bashanet, has maintained no interest in the individual crops of the villagers, admitting he fails to visit the villages in Madunga Ward because of the 'lack of transport'.[1]

Women in Madunga Kati cited the failure of the Pyrethrum Project as the reason for their wariness of participating in any further projects. Far from being a success the project appears to have had a negative impact in the Ward.

As noted earlier Gallapo Ward is considered a grain-bowl of the District (and the Region) and as such it has not been without the services of a Bwana Shamba in the last fifteen years. With the initiation of the National Maize Project Gallapo became even more of a focus for extension work.

There is no doubt that many improved maize-growing practices are found in Gallapo Ward. The majority of households plough and plant according to the recommended timetable. The Bwana Shamba

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1. Other Officers based in Bashanet nonetheless manage to visit the Ward weekly, especially the Katibu Tarafa, Mratibu Tarafa.

of the Ward estimates that about 45% of farmers follow recommendations on spacing and variety of seed, using one of the three hybrids varieties. Fertilizer is used quite widely and most farmers know what action to take in the event of stalkborer and army worm invasions.

According to the Bwana Shamba around 20% of farmers in the Ward listen to Radio Farming programmes (Ukulima wa Kisasa) and he has no trouble selling copies of Ukulima wa Kisasa magazine to farmers. In general from the Bwana Shamba's point of view extension is reaching the people of Gallapo Ward and having a positive impact on practices and productivity. Village Chairmen and Secretaries interviewed confirmed that the Bwana Shamba was 'useful' to the villages, and regular in his visits.

A somewhat different picture emerges in talking with women about agricultural extension. While most knew about the visits of the Bwana Shamba to their village it appears he does not often talk with women farmers. Those he had talked with were working in their fields with their husbands at the time. Few had attended meetings he had held in the village. Even fewer had visited the Bwana Shamba for advice or inputs although most have husbands who do so from time to time. About five percent had copies of Ukulima wa kKisasa in their houses which their husbands had brought. A greater number said they listened to agricultural programmes on the radio when they were

For his part the Bwana Shamba stressed that he has always invited women farmers to attend his meetings but few come.

"They are preoccupied with household duties. If the man comes they don't see the need to come. He will tell them what I say". He agreed that the only visitors or requests he receives from women derive from UWT Shamba leaders. He did note however that when he gave these women advice they tended to act upon it more quickly than men farmers. "They listen better and take action in time. It is because they have less time to waste".

The overall impression gained was that agricultural extension in this Ward is reaching probably the same number of women as men, but that it reaches them indirectly, through the men. This factor limits and controls the degree to which women benefit from or implement agricultural improvements; in short only if the husband or father is in agreement with the practice and wants to follow it, will the wife or daughter implement it.

Women farmers probably have benefitted to an extent from the agricultural extension service to their villages, but this was not viewed as having any impact upon their own lives. "Nothing has changed for us since Independence," "No development have helped us" were statements continually re-stated in this Ward.

Although inadequate data was collected in Gallapo Ward which might substantiate the claim, it is worth noting here than a growing body of opinion exists which asserts that improved agricultural practices have usually had an adverse impact upon woemn farmers, in the sense that they create more work for women.

It is the women who do the planting, the weeding, the manuring and the spraying, not the men. Only the introduction of ox-ploughs and tractors have reduced their burden. (Wills 1970) Linker & Bramsen (1976) Swantz (1976) Staudt (1976) Mbilinyi (1977) & Fortmann (1977). As long as women do not own the returns of their labour (the income [illegible] nefits of improved production might well seem inadequate to them. It is quite likely that village women will not consider agricultural extension as having had a positive impact upon their lives until they share directly in its benefits. These points will be taken up later.

Meanwhile in Magugu Ward women were emphatic, when asked, that agricultural extension programmes over the years had had precicely no impact upon their lives at all. Rice culture was introduced into Magugu Ward in 1946 and has been widely practised along side more traditional crops. A Bwana shamba has worked for the Ward for over 10 years. As far as women are concerned however, "he only comes to us to buy bananas or other foods for his family".

The area is surrounded by large estates where improved practices of all kinds are supposedly practised, and where advice should theoretically be available. Women interviewed were categorical however that none of these factors had done anything for them as farmers. Bearing in mind the small scale of this study it may be concluded that agricultural extension is not on the whole seen by women as directly affecting them in any way, and as currently implemented, not the kind of development which has improved their status, their economic power, or even their productivity.

From these initial discussions with women it is difficult to draw firm conclusions as to what impact developments have had upon them since independence. Tentatively however two main conclusions can be drawn :

(i) Bearing in mind that over half the women interviewed were emphatic that there had been no changes or developments since Independence which had helped them, the possibility that this is exactly the case can not be dismissed.

This may very well be because what changes and developments there have been - and in at least two of the Wards there have been many - they have simply not reached or touched the critical points of concern or needs of village women. The possible exception to this is the provision of good water supplies and curative health care.

(ii) Women interviewed were more conscious and positive of those development which had involved only women than more general village development projects.

This may be the result of convention, or it may indicate that only women's projects have reached real areas of concern for women or that women consider only women's projects can tackle those concerns.

This issue of so-called women's development is now looked at in more detail in the villages studied.

3. Women's Organizations in the Villages

UWT's

The mobilization and organization of villagers into workable units was the corner-stone of the villageization policies of the mid-seventies, still being consolidated today. As noted earlier the establishment of women's political groups in the villages, UWT's, is an integral and obligatory part of villageization.

Nonetheless by no means all villages have established UWT's. Only six of the ten villages investigated have any kind of UWT and only one of these is currently active (Magugu Village). In one village the UWT collapsed as early as 1976 when the leader moved away from the village (Majengo). In another the UWT is considered "dead" because the group couldn't organise itself to raise funds for ploughing and "the leader is often away in Arusha". (Mapea).

In another instance the women met once to elect a Chairwoman and Secretary and then never met again (Qameyu). In Gallapo the UWT collapsed last year after disagreements as to how to spend the income acquired. In Ayamango the 260 members of the UWT have trouble agreeing on projects, labour timetables and almost everything else, aldthough the organization is by no means entirely dormant.

More generally, there are discernable differences in the degree to which village women have organized themselves in groups or UWT's amongst the three Wards studied. In the Wairaq Madunga Ward only in Qameyu village has any attempt at organization been made, entirely at the prompting of the Village Chairman and Secretary, and as indicated above, without much success. In both Utwari and Madunga Villages a significant portion of individual women declared themselves against the whole concept. The traditional fierce independence of Wairaq homesteaders

is probably the cause: women stated that they didn't see any purpose in working together; they were quite content to work in and with their own families to achieve a better life. Women in Madunga Kati village had previously refused to form a Health Committee (under the Mradi wa Afya Project) the only refusal in the District. These same women have since become quite enthusiastic at the prospect of joining an APVDP - funded income-generating project, contradicting themselves and their conservatism.

It could be noted here that a certain antipathy to the UWT organization exists which goes beyond Wairaq areas. The study was told a number of times that an underlying reason for the lack of enthusiasm on the part of some women for the UWT was the association the organization held in some people minds with 'loose women'.

> "Many men are afraid to let their wives join UWT because they think they will get difficult and want a divorce".

> "I wouldn't let my wife join (UWT) because all those women do is talk about their husbands and make trouble".

> "If you look at all the leaders of UWT you will see they are mostly divorced women or prostitutes".

Such comments were heard from men, and largely from men in peri-urban situations. The association of UWT with a certain independence of women probably lies at the bottom of these sentiments, and an anxiety that women "not get too free". It is not clear how far such views reach into rural villages, but in Madunga Ward at least some women interviewed were doubtful whether their husbands would let them join a UWT.

In Gallapo Ward women interviewed expressed no such sentiments. On the contrary they regretted that either their village had no UWT (Gedamar, Majengo) or that the existing UWT was dormant or unsuccessful (Ayamango, Gallapo).

The Gallapo UWT was until recently regarded as the most successful in the District, with a history that goes back pre-1975, when a TANU women's group established a successful Shamba of 15 acres, accumulating some 10,000/-. The project collapsed in 1977/78 when the land was reallocated to other farmers through the division of Gallapo Village into two villages (Gallapo and Orng'adida).

By that time the group had established a shop, selling clothes, soap and Kanga cloth. In two years it made a profit of 4,099/- at which time it was closed because of the inappropriate premises.[1]

In 1979/80 the group started another Shamba (10 acres) adjacent to the village shamba. Because of the low yield the Council decided to harvest the women's crop at the same time as their own. A dispute currently ranges as to what portion of the profits belong to the UWT. All accounting for the UWT is done by the Gallapo Village Secretary, and the UWT Chairwomen has only a vague idea of the funds at the groups disposal. The group has also raised a further 2,000/- in the last twelve months by beer brewing. The project was stopped by the Bwana Afya during the cholera epidemic and has not begun again as premises have been difficult to find.

The current problems of the Gallapo UWT which is widely regarded as "finished", "collapsed" or dormant derive directly from its financial management. When initiating new projects the leaders have always raised new funds rather than drawing on the capital accumulated.

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1. The shop did not in fact have its own premises. The goods were sold at a bar owned by the Chairwoman of the UWT.

The members rightly suspect that a large sum of UWT money is deposited somewhere in the Gallapo Village Bank Account and refuse to raise more funds for a much-desired Women's Shop until existing funds are released in the form of shares. The current leadership is emphatic that the capital accumulated must not be divided but used for a further project. This conflict is exacerbated by the uneasy relationship between Village Council and UWT on the book-keeping of the organization which leads many women to distrust the whole enterprise.

The reasons for the current demise of the Ayamango village UWT are less impressive but more typical. Begun in 1976 the organization now has a membership of 258 women, 36 holding UWT cards. (These are usually issued when the UWT first begins and appoints a Chairwoman and Secretary). The Ayamango UWT has in fact never really got off the ground. Every year at one of the few meetings held, projects are suggested. A shamba is particularly favoured but sewing groups, pot-making and beer-brewing have also been suggested. The only activity so far undertaken by the group was a limited amount of beer-brewing, which like Gallapo, was stopped in the middle of last year because of an outbreak of cholera in the Ward.

Discussions with 25 women in a group and 11 individually revealed that the major constraint facing the Ayamango group is simply its large size. "We are too many so we can't agree on anything. We are always quarrelling". The leadership of the group does not appear able to overcome this problem and the organization has drifted on ineffectively from year to year.

Listening into a conversation held amongst the women as to whether they should plough or not this year it also became apparent that women in Ayamango do not feel as strong a need for income-generating activities sensed elsewhere. The village is known to be relatively wealthy and this seemed to reveal itself in their discussions. The majority of women felt it would be too much trouble to plough this year and anyway "who would look after the home shambas? The men are out with the cattle..." "We don't have time...". When sentiments like these were expressed the study gradually became aware that the interviewes were not so dedicated to the pursuit of income as to overcome the implications of labour required to achieve those ends. In Ayamango this impression was reinforced by the enthusiasm shown by the UWT members when the potential for their involvement in a maize mill project was discussed. They were in short much more interested in acquiring the service of a maize mill than in earning an income. This finding was in marked contrast to the interests expressed in most other, poorer villages, where the need for cash emerged as the paramount interest in women's projects.

Halla Village in Gallapo Ward provides an interesting example of how a non-UWT women's group may successfully operate. Since 1977 a group of 20 women have worked together as a group, ploughing and planting some three acres of maize and beans every year. They also hold periodic beer-brewing [illegible] parties. Together these two activities have earned them quite an income none of which they have spent. The group intends to start a shop. "They can manage one very well" confirmed the Village Chairman.

The Halla Women's Group has never approached the District UWT Office for registration as a UWT largely because it does not have the requisite 30 members. The group is anxious to increase its number only with members it particularly wants, and refuses to expand for the sake of reaching the target of 30 members. In any event, they could not see the advantage of becoming a UWT group. "UWT doesn't help with anything". The Halla women's group are proud they are the same members of three years ago, work very well together, and do not 'want to get too big'. The wisdom of this was not lost upon the study. There is little doubt that the large numbers of members in some UWT's (in Magugu 300, in Ayamango 260 etc) has been a critical factor in the failure of those groups to make real progress. With so many people it is clearly difficult to reach a consensus on the one hand, and in the establishment of smaller projects than farms (e.g. shops, hotels) the income generated is too small to satisfactorily divide amongst all members.

From an organizational point of view, by far the most progress in establishing UWT's has been made in Magugu Ward. There, every village has a UWT. The Katibu Kata maintains a list of these groups together with their membership and the size of their shamba projects.[1]

1.

Number of UWT	Card-holding members	Size of shamba in acres
Magugu	126	3
Mapea	43	5
Matufa	82	5
Mawemairo	71	3
Sarame	15	-
Gichamada	40	2

Like other Katibus the Party (CCM) requires that he promote the establishment of UWT's and he in turn puts pressure on Village Chairmen to encourage the women. Village Chairmen take this responsibility to varying degrees of seriousness.

It is in the meantime a comment of the subsidiary nature of women's organizations that Village Councils regard it as primarily their responsibility to promote and support them. The fact that Village councils are predominantly male renders this relationship somewhat self-defeating, especially when women are coerced albeit subtlely, to form a UWT.

It is not clear whether the Party in the rural areas promotes UWT's by default or whether it does so in line with its policies. Chairmen and Katibu Kata do not wait for a visit from a District UWT officer before promoting a UWT. In such circumstances the District and Regional UWT become secondary to the Village Council, which may even take it upon itself to call a UWT meeting for one reason or another.

Despite the impressive statistics of membership and farms

of UWT's in Magugu Ward a closer examination revealed that only one or two are active. The UWT of Magugu Village itself is in fact one of the most active UWT's in the District (along with the UWT of Nangwa village in the south of the District).

Like Gallapo,Magugu Village has had a long history of women's groups. As far back as the early sixties a Bibi Maendeleo stationed in the village promoted women's projects and helped in their management, including the maintenance of accounts Over the years the group received grants of assistance, largely from TANU, including two sewing machines and pots and pans for domestic science activites (1967).

Amazingly none of these items have ever been used, for lack of agreement of who should use them. The current UWT group was established in 1975 and has nearly 300 members (including non-card holders). The first project to be started was a Hotel (1977), initiated with 10/= contributions from members, supplemented with a grant from CCM.

The Village Council itself had begun a hotel and two years ago the Party recommended the two groups join forces. Since then CCM (the Village Council in effect) has more or less run the hotel enterprise. The Chairwoman of UWT was unsure what the current profit of the Hotel is ("the Village Secretary known") but the project is known to be profit-making. New premises are currently being built in the centre of Magugu from the profits; it will comprise two distinct cafes side by side, one for men and one for women. The Chairwomen of UWT could not give a reason for this arrangement (again," the Party knows"). Meanwhile the UWT members of the Hotel group insist on receiving a share from the profits every week. "They don't trust each other" (UCDA).

A second project begun by the Magugu UWT is still in the hands of the women only and for better or worse, is failing. This project comprises a shop selling consumer goods. It was begun in 1979 with a 5,000/= loan from CCM. Costs of the enterprise were never properly calculated and the UWT has quickly found itself unable to cover costs, small as they are[1]. Currently it is having difficulty finding the funds to purchase new stock.

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1. Costs for Shop each month : Rent - 150/= Salary of shopkeeper 150/= Loan of measuring weights - 30/=, Watchman - -50/= Total = 380/= per month excluding cost of purchasing items.

Finally the Magugu UWT has begun a three acres shamba (1979). This project illustrates more pitfalls of women's development projects as they currently operate. Theoretically, a shamba project should be the easiest for women to begin, and it is for this reason that 30 of the 35 women's projects in Hanang are shambas. All women know the skills required and most are used to carrying out agricultural tasks in the company of other women. Further the economics of such a project are clear and simple. Nonetheless almost all UWT village shamba projects have run into problems at one time or another.

Firstly in areas where tractors are available few women will agree to the Women's Shamba being ploughed by hoe or ox-plough . Despite their often sizeable numbers (in Magugu, 300 women) they claim that they do not have the time to hand plough another field. There is truth in this claim. Village women not only have to work on their own fields, but must participate equal labour on the Village Shamba. Only when these tasks are complete will the Village Council or individual farmers make it easy for women to obtain the use of a tractor, or even under take hoe-ing activity. Womens fields come last. In nearly all villages where women's shambas have been started in Hanang there has been at least one season when the Women's Shamba was not planted at all because by the time a tractor was available it was too late in the season.

Another problem which typically confronts Women's Shambas is the initial raising of the capital to cover the cost of the hire of the tractor. A three-acre field costs around 600/= to plough. In most villages women organise beer-brewing and selling parties to cover this cost. In some, action is not taken in time and the allocated field remains unploughed for yet another season.

The study was surprised at how many Women's Shamba were "going to be started this year" when the allocation had been made several years ago.

If women's shamba's do get ploughed and planted they are more likely than other fields to run into problems in the course of the season. Many Village Chairmen complained that the yield of Women's Shambas was low because the women fail to turn up for labour days, leaving the field untended. Once the field is harvested yet another problem arises: how to distribute the income earned from the sale of the crop, and if to distribute it at all.

Some UWT's start shambas with the aim of raising capital to start another income-generating project. However having raised money through pombe selling to plough the field, having kept the income from the shamba for one or two years, the members expectedly become disgruntled if no return is forthcoming. In both Magugu and Gallapo villages this conflict has emerged as the main operational problem, and as noted earlier the latter has fallen into dormancy as a result.

The Mapea Village UWT in Magugu Ward offers an example of other problems which befall women's groups. Started in 1977 the groups sought assistance to initiate a mat-making workshop where women could make mats and learn other skills. The Department of Ujamaa supported the project and funds were secured for the building of a Women's Workshop. The building has never been used nor the project implemented. This was primarily because the project was ill-conceived in the first place, and when it came to implementation it was clear that each woman had her own perception of what the Workshop was for. In addition the Village Council Secretary decided that the Workshop could be better used as a Village

Community Hall and forbade the women to meet there. When the women wished to call a meeting amongst themselves to discuss the problem he forbade these meetings saying that only the Council could call the women together, that the UWT was 'under the Party". It would seem that the group lacked an adequately strong leadership to overcome these problems and interest in the project, in UWT, and in using the Workshop dwindled.[1]

Other Women's Groups in Villages

The study found remarkably few women's organizations other than UWT in the three Wards visited. In Madunga Ward which comprises an entirely homogenous Wairaq population the expected cultural groups or societies were non-existent. Women there confirmed that they worked together in times of need, such as weddings, funerals, or weeding of fields, but indicated that these arrangements were essentially spontaneous and informal. No Burial Societies for example, so common in many culturally-intact African societies appear to exist in that Ward.

In both Madunga Kati and Qameyu villages Roman Catholic Church groups have been established over the last several years, but these include both men and women. Only one is, in any event, active.

Churches and church groups abound in Magugu Ward but only in one of the three villages examined, Magugu itself, do womens church groups exist. The most active of these is the Lutheran Women's Group which runs a shamba and an active Bible group.

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1. This has since been revived through a proposed APVDP - funded Mat Marketing Project.

The presence of a large and long-established Roman Catholic Mission in Gallapo has seen a number of church-related activities implemented in the Ward. Most of the villages have a Catholic Church Group which run shambas or act as 'committees' for the Church but as far as the study could gauge there are no Catholic Women's Groups. In the past the Mission has had Sisters who have worked with Woman's Groups on one or two projects (sewing) but these do not exist today.

In general the influence of organizations other than the Party-[illegible] UWT's is very small in these three Wards, and as has been shown in Madunga Ward at least, even the influence of the UWT has been minor.

Conclusions:

The preceeding account has identified a number of features of UWT's in villages and constraints facing them. Most of these were confirmed in the course of project development carried out as part of the study with women of four villages. From both these sources the following conclusions have been drawn.

1. The name UWT is often used loosely to describe any women's group in the villages. Real UWTS are in fact very much the ' child' of the Party, and subsidiary to the Party's main organ in the village, the Council. Village Chairmen may even stop the confirmation of a woman as a UWT leader if they feel she is 'unsuitable'. Before the District UWT confirms the election of UWT Chairwoman and Secretary it seeks the endorsement of the Village Chairman, albeit informally.

2. Despite the political [illegible] of UWT's the main task of these organizations does not appear to be political education. UWTs are seldom if ever addressed by politicians nor exhorted to be more politically active by Village Councillors, Waratibu Kata or Tarafa. In those villages where UWT's have been active Village Chairmen could recall no instances when the UWT had presented the Council with a resolution

calling for action of one kind or another. Women attending Village Assembly meetings attend as individuals, in no instances using their affiliation with the UWT to strengthen their position or participation.

3. The main aim of thw UWT organization as it is realised in the District and villages is the promotion of women's projects. This is so to such an extent that if a village UWT does not happen to have any project underway it is considered defunct, or 'not working'. Meetings of the women are held only in relation to projects. Issues such as the status of women in the village, their participation in village government, or problems relating to the division of labour and income between men and women are never formally discussed in those meetings.

4. Almost without exception UWT groups are concerned with income-generating projects. Projects involving self-help efforts or non-profit making events or activities do not directly concern UWT's, and requests for the participation of women in one or other such project by-passes the UWT and is tramitted to individual women directly through the village council and Balozi (Cell leaders). When women participate in self-help activities (frequently) they do so, not as members of UWT but as individuals. None of the UWTS examined had ever initiated a self-help project themselves.

The only exception to income-generating projects started by village UWTs are training projects. These are few and almost always associated with training in sewing or other domestic-science related areas.

5. More help in establishing village UWT's has derived from Village Councils than from the District UWT office whose task it is to see that every village in the District has an active UWT. Village Chairmen tend to see the establishment of a UWT as a mark of their own success. For their part the District UWT Office nonetheless spends most of its time out of the office 'mobilising' women. The main content of two meetings addressed by the District UWT Chairman in the presence of the consultant comprised exhortations to the women to speak Kiswahili and to join with other women in Tanzania to help themselves by working together. The women were repeatedly urged to start projects, but the UWT Chairwoman did not offer assistance to do this. Her main concern was to see the UWT elect a Chairwoman and Secretary so that it could be registered.

At the end of the meetings the women were made to practice the Party slogan (CCM Juu Juu Zaidi , Zidumu Fikra za Mwenyekiti wa CCM Mwl. J.K. Nyerere) Thus a contradiction exists between the expressed aims of the Regional and District UWT personnel and their practice in the villages. While all are emphatic that the main aim is to assist women start projects their own participation is usually limited to mobilising and exhorting the women to do so. Part of the reason for this is the infrequency with which these officers actally visit the village groups, the result of having no transport of their own. More importantly the ability of UWT staff to give effective assistance to village groups is doubtful.

Their own project planning and management skills are few, and it is not surprising that their involvement with women's groups usually begins and ends with exhortation only. Women's groups are forced to rely upon themselves for the planning and management of their projects as well as the funding. Although this is sound in principle the projects invariably run quickly into difficulties, and/or the group becomes heavily dependent upon the Village Council Secretary. This is turn reinforces their subservient position vis a vis the Village Council, and consolidates the widely-held opinion that village women cannot run their own affairs.

6. UWT projects do not last very long. Of twelve projects started in the ten villages studied only three are currently active, and two of these are 'failing'. More widely the District UWT confirms that woman's projects "always seem to run into problems and stop". Even Shamba projects, the most common, do not escape this fate.

The reasons for these failures are not difficult to identify. The first problem groups run into usually concern leadership. Although women are reluctant in the first place to appoint leaders from amongst themselves[1] once they have done so they place an unrealistic burden upon those leaders. If the leader does not call another meeting few women if any will exhort her to do so. This has been a major factor in the failure of many village UWT's to ever get off the ground. Similarly, if a leader leaves the village in the course of a project's implementation it may take a year or more for the group to call a meeting to elect new leaders.

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1. This was particularly evident in the course of initiating APVDP Women's Projects February, 1981.

Even then more often than not they fall back upon the Village Chairman to arrange the meeting. Again, if the village UWT leader is poor, it may take two or three or more years for the group to seek a change in its leadership. The study concluded that factors in this lack of initiative include:-

- an unwillingness amongst village women to be singled out as leaders, or to take on the responsibility;
- the unwieldy numbers of most village UWT's which render consensus difficult to achieve;
- the absence of effective organization within village UWT's.

8. Another reason for the frequent failure of UWT projects is the lack of planning that goes into the preparation of projects. This is particularly so in regard to shop, hotel and other projects that are more complex and capital-intensive than shambas. In many cases such projects are launched which are simply not viable or for which entirely inadequate capital is secured. Even shamba projects suffer from inadequate planning. Examples have been given in the preceeding discussion. These include failure to plan ahead for raising cash to pay for tractor hire, failure to organize an effective work schedule for participants, failure to agree, prior to the project's initiation, on the use of the income generated.

9. Project management is weak, particularly financial management. Village women do not have these skills themselves and rely heavily upon the Village Secretary to maintain their accounts, to the extent that they quick ly lose track of funds held.

10. UWT's are surprisingly well supported by village women despite these difficulties. They appear to meet a need not only for participation in income-generating projects but for some form of solidarity amongst village women. It is difficult to gauge how far however these groups have gone inimproving either the status of women in the village, or power-sharing within them. The next section will take up these issues. Meanwhile the failure of so many women's groups to successfully maintain projects over long periods of time cannot do much for their image as independent competent persons. This is doubly so when UWT's fall back upon Village Council personnel for help. Certainly there is no question in the minds of most Councillors, Katibu Kata and Tarafa, that women need their help to manage projects.

> "At home we are the leaders (men) and now even in the village we will lead you and guide you" the Katibu

Tarafa in Bashanet reassured a group of women who were anxious to start a productive project (Qameyu February, 1981).

4. Village Government and Village Women:

The involvement of women in the decision-making processes that make up the government of a village must be viewed as an important indicator of their status in the village, and the level of their active participation in village development processes generally

The base-line for such changes is found in the pre-Independence era at which point village women allegedly played an almost non-existent role in traditional or local village government. A number of writers on Tanzania have described the role of women in public affairs then as practically nil (Mbilinyi (1972) Swantz (1976) Staudt (1979).

The situation in the early 1970's as described by Von Freyhold appears to have been little better :

> Social differentiation also existed between the women and the men. The men were represented on every institution of the village government, but the women did not have any representatives. Most of the decisions were taken by the men and explained to the women, and the women accepted them. It was easy to see from the remarks of the men in meetings that they looked down on the women.
>
> According to traditions which seemed to date from the colonial period, women were not allowed to speak in formal public gatherings. If they wanted to speak they had first to inform a man who would then address the meeting on their behalf. (M. Von Freyhold 1979: 145)

Writing in 1980. Peterson and Peterson stated of three APVDP Pilot Districts in Arusha Region.

> ".... In the Pilot Districts, about half of the survey meetings were attended by anywhere from one to five women. However with few exceptions they played a very backstage role in the meetings, participating very little if at all in the discussion and answering of questions. The apparent regionwide lack of participation and poor representation by women in the survey is probably best explained by the fact that women have traditionally been
>
> leadership role. That this tradition is still strong and prevalent, and changing only slowly is obvious." (Peterson & Peterson APVDP 1980 : 27)

In Arusha Region the extreme is found in the Masai Districts where women still do not speak in public at all. Peterson & Peterson again recall :

"At only one village meeting (of 29 held in Kiteto) was a Masai woman present and in this case she refused to come into the building where the meeting was being held but sat outside and listened through a window....." (ibid; 27).

Putting these descriptions together with othersdescribing village women in other parts of Tanzania (most particularly Swantz, 1976) it is clear that few women attend village meetings, and when they do they generally keep silent. The Women's Development Coordinator in the Region (the Home Economics Specialist of Ujamaa) commented on this finding:

"Women do not normally talk in front of their husbands on matters their husbands are discussing. How can we expect them to talk in a meeting?"

There are two main levels of village government as detailed in the Ujamaa and Villages Act (1975) and as effected in all rural villages of Tanzania. The first is the monthly meeting of the Village Council attended by only those 25 villagers who have been elected as Councillors. This is followed by a Village Assembly attended by all adults in the village.

The study did not have the opportunity to attend Village Assembly meetings in the ten villages studied to determine the level of participation by women. Details of their participation were obtained however through examination of the minutes of the last Village Assemblies in most of these Villages.[1] The information gathered is noted in the following chart along with the number of female councillors on each Village Council in the three Wards.[2]

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1. The minutes usually note attendance by men and women.

2. In some cases this information was provided by the Katibu Katas.

The data is interesting, giving a considerably more positive impression of women's participation in village government than the literature suggests. In all cases at least a fifth of the Village Assembly participants were women, and in four of 14 villages at least half or more of the participants were women.

Katibu Katas, Village Chairmen and the women themselves were all interviewed on this issue. In two Wards, Magugu and Gallapo, a strong incentive for participation in village meetings is the institution of a fine system.[1] The size of the fine varies from village to village, and even within a village depending on how important it is for villagers to attend a particular meeting.

It was the opinion of most Village Chairmen that women are on the whole more wary of being fined than men. One said:

"When we call the people to the meeting the women make sure they come so they won't be fined. But the men go to pombe so they forget about the fine".

In Magugu Ward where women's attendance at Village meetings appears to be very high the Katibu Kata was emphatic that it is not just fines which induce women to attend. "Women here are interested in developing themselves" he asserted. De this as it may, it is also clear that women attending meetings speak very little in them. Usually one or two are known as 'talkers" but by far the majority of women keep quiet. The study was surprised to hear that in not one of the ten villages had women consistently brought up issues that concerned them. On this point one Chairman said:

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1. Village Councils have the authority to do this. Usually 5/- or a chicken comprises the fine but in richer villages even a goat may be demanded. If a villager does not have these items his house is visited and an article such as a chair or cooking pot taken from him, to be returned only when he has reformed by attending one or more further meetings. In some villages the fine system only sporadically operates.

Sample of Number of Women on Village Council

and Attendance at Village Assemblies:

Village	No. Women Councillors	% of Village Assembly are Women
Gallapo Ward		
Gallapo	3	50
Qash	2	30
Gedamar	0	25
Halla	3	25
Ayamango	2	30
Tsamasi	0	20
Orng'adida	2	30
Majengo	2	45
Madunga Ward		
Utwari	1	20
Madunga Kati	1	20
Qameyu	2	20
Magugu Ward		
Magugu	4	55
Gichameda	3	55
Mapea	5	50
Matufa	4	ND
Masware	0	ND
Sarame	2	ND
Mawemairo	1	ND

"If a woman really wants something discussed she willusually ask her brother or husband to say it".

The study was more interested in the reasons why women do not attend village meetings in places where attendance is very low and why not more women attend in villages where women still comprise less than 50% of participants.

In Madunga Ward Village Cha-irmen and Councillors gave the following reasons :-

(i) Women are still shy to attend public meetings;

(ii) Women are too busy at home to come;

(iii) It is not the woman's job to roam and survey the village (sic) and attend things like meetings; t is her job to watch the house;

(iv) Women can't speak Kiswahili;

(v) Women are uneducated;

(vi) Women don't understand the discussions;

(vii) Women don't understand the purpose of village meetings;

(viii) Their husbands don't let them come;

(ix) It's difficult for a woman to get a pass from the house to come; only one person from a household need come so it is always the man;

(x) Women don't need to come because we ask the men to tell them what we have discussed;

(xi) Women are not used to sitting together with men;

(xii) There are still some men here who don't like to see women in meetings;

(xiii) Women don't feel they have the right to attend; meetings are a man's business.

It is not surprising so few women attend.... what is surprising is that the women themselves echoed many of these sentiments. When asked to determine the best way of getting information in the village a group of 13 women in Madunga Kati said that the Village Council tells the Balozi some news, the Balozi tell their husbands, and their husbands tell them.

In Qameyu village several women claimed they didn't attend meetings because they felt their duty was in the house. "It is the man's job to attend meetings". Two women in this village did say however that they go to meetings when they know about them but often they fail to be informed.

The problem of 'passes from the house' was confirmed when certain woman failed to attend meetings organized to discuss APVDP - funded projects. "They didn't get the pass from their husbands" was the explanation for their absence.

While the conservatism of Madunga Ward may well be unique in the District elements of the same constraints on women's attendance were heard also in both Gallapo, and to a lesser extent, in Magugu Ward. A UWT Chairwoman in Ayamango village (Gallapo Ward) was very late to a meeting because her husband "would not let her leave the house until she had finished cooking his food". Even the village Secretary was unable to persuade the husband to release her. The village Chairman of Gallapo, perhps the most "progressive" village looked at, noted that there are still many men in his village who refuse or discourage their wives from attending meetings. The time constraint upon women is certainly a real one. Their daily routine is a full one and meetings which usually last more than three hours can not be appealing. So also is the need for women to watch over the house, children and livestock (calves) also a real constraint. All the same problems are insurmountable; both could be greatly ameliorated by men sharing more of the household-related burdens.

Finally, there is no doubt that more women are attending village meetings <u>than in the past</u>. Both Councillors and women themselves confirmed this fact.

If attendance is indeed an indicator of participation in development processes and an easing in the low status of women, then some progress at least has been made.

Although there is no hard data to support it, a correlation exists according to village officials between the proportion of women participants invillage meetings and the proportion of women who contribute labour in village self-help projects. Once again, it is in Magugu that the most active women's participation is found, and the least in Madunga Ward where female participation in village development is generally poor.

Women Councillors

Another means of determining the level of women's participation in village government is simply to note the number of women councillors in a village. Where there are more than an average number of female councillors attendance of women generally is high; where none or only one female councillor is elected attendance is generally poor.

In most villages covered at least one or two council members have been women since 1975. In some villages the history of women's participation goes back further. What is notable is that the actual proportion of council members who are women does not seem to have greatly increased in the last five years. The average of two female councillors per village seems to have held steady. More data would need to be collected over a wider span of villages to be sure of this trend. In any event the continuing low proportion of female representation, 2 out of 25 members, is disappointing.

There are no rules or even guidelines governing the election of councillors as concerns women. Village Chairmen and Katibu Katas stressed that no pressure is put on the community to appoint women, or upon women themselves to stand for election.

The reasons villagers chose women, they assert, is however largely because it is now widely believed that there should be at least one woman on the Council. Candidates are chosen for relatively similar attributes in all ten villages. The most important attribute is a willingness and ability 'to speak out in public'. 'Often women councillors are 'stars' in the village or women with "strong personal [illegible]" (Katibu Kata Magugu). Many are reappointed. Education plays less of a role in their election, although most female councillors interviewed had at least two or three years primary schooling. Only one reached Standard Seven.

The ability to speak Kiswahili was noted in both Gallapo and Madunga as a factor in their appointment, both by Chairmen and women councillors themselves.

Wealth did not seem to be a factor in any of the appointments. It is notable however that half of the female councillors interviewed were either single or divorced. This finding lends credence to the belief (and fear) that women leaders are 'independent'.

A total of 17 women councillors were interviewed in the course of this study. Most confirmed the view of male councillors that they had been appointed because they were willing to speak up in meetings. Only one said she had been elected against her will. In villages in both Magugu and Gallapo Wards their attendance at Village Council meetings is regular. In Madunga Ward on the other hand only one of the four female councillors in the Ward regularly attends.

The study observed the participation of women councillors in both Council meetings and UWT meetings. Often female councillors are committee members if not leaders of the village UWT. It was evident in the Council meetings that although female councillors attend and are attentive they do not yet feel adequately at ease to express themselves as freely or frequently as male councillors. Despite the fact that the meetings attended concerned women's development projects most were silent unless questioned. Secretaries were invited to comment on this after Council meetings. The majority said the women had participated as much as they ever do.

The situation in UWT meetings contrasted sharply with this. In those meetings all women feel free to talk and debates may become quite heated. Female councillors used their experience of council meetings to maintain order.

The conclusion drawn by the study was that while women are participating more in village government their role still bears the marks of tokenism.
their numbers but their impact on village council meetings is small, and far from equal to that of men. Other women in the village do not regard these councillors as representatives of their interests.

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide a setting for the following discussion on the impact of the APVDP project in the three Wards. To summarise then, what was the situation of women in those Wards when APVDP entered them in 1980 offering development assistance in a wide range of spheres?

Were women well-integrated into existing village development projects and government? Would they automatically have an equal share in decision-making as to what development assistance villages would request from APVDP? Would their needs automatically be met along with the needs of village men? Had the changes and developments of the last twenty years narrowed the gap between the circumstances, opportunities, rights and status of village men and women?

The preceeding discussion has tried to throw some light of these issues. It has been shown that the village women in the study do not feel the changes and developments of the last twenty years have significantly improved their lot, and with the possible exception of the expansion of health care services, government programmes have not successfully tackled areas which concern them most. While they admit the existence and utility of services and extension efforts which have reached the village they tend to denigrate the value of these because they have not changed what in the final analysis emerges as the most imprtant concern of women - their heavy burden as second-class villagers. Adult education, agricultural inputs and advice, the provision of water, roads, schools, etc. are all inherently 'good' changes in their eyes but such changes have not brought them into the mainstream of village life, have not altered their fundamental relationship with other villagers, their fathers and husbands. On the contrary they may be seen almost as palliatives, encouraging village women to be more at ease and content with the heavy physical burdens of their secondary role.

The importance of the development of women's groups in the villages and the enthusiasm of women for these despite their failings, can be seen in this light. UWT's with their emphasis on income-generating activities, have to date comprised the key means for large numbers of to women to take a step towards altering their relationship with the male-dominated village. Through this step they themselves have defined the critical stepping-stone: economic independence. It is this, not services, extension, token gestures of public consideration, which make the difference.

Thus it seems that village women do not themselves' take their participation in village meetings and their representation on village government as seriously as outside developers do. They are perhaps instinctively aware of its subtle menainglessness as long as their position in the village and in the household in economic terms remains subservient. The degree to which women are economically subservient is described in a later chapter. In the meantime it is as well to let the women themselves speak on their perceptions of their current status:

"Nothing has changed for us women. I was born from my father and now my husband is looking after me" (Mapea).

"Women are still the same becuase the money belongs to the husband still" (Majengo).

"Now we are sitting in meetings but the men can beat us if we complain and make our lives difficult. We are dependent on men" (Magugu).

"A man can refuse you anything because he owns all the things" (Ayamango).

"Our main problem here is that the men are drinking our money and we have no way to get more". (Utwari).

"Things are better when we are working together as women. The men can't take the income from our field" (Halla).

"In my opinion it would be better if the Council gave every woman one acre for herself". (Ayamango).

"We are 'nt equal with men. He can refuse anything, even to buy food for the children" (Gedmar).

For their part men confirm that the role and status of women has remained essentially unchanged. While being interviewed the Village Chairmen and Secretary of Gedamar village complained:

"RIDEP should help the women with water. Water is a big problem for women. We can sit here all day waiting for food because there is no woman at home. Always they are going far to fetch water."

From a Village Chairman in Madunga Kati :

"It is not the custom of our men to allow women a pass to leave the house. If they roam freely in the village they will become bad women and forget their duties."

IV. THE IMPACT OF APVDP ON VILLAGE WOMEN IN TEN VILLAGES

The Arusha Planning and Village Development Programme (APVDP) is but one of the fifteen or so RIDEPS currently operating in the country. These Rural Integrated Devleopment Projects (RIDEPS) were initiated as a consequence of the decentralization of government in 1972. They sought to provide the new Regional governments with expertise and funds to plan and implement comprehensive development plans.

The Arusha RIDEP (APVDP) has two key thrusts:

(i) the formulation of a long term Development Plan and the upgrading of planning capacity generally in the Region;

(ii) the improvement of the Region's implementation capacity, and in particular the implementation of a village programme over a four year period.

The latter is currently focused on 4 Wards in Hanang, Mbulu and Arumeru Districts (total 12).

The main theme or emphasis of the APVDP is the development and affective utilization of the productive capability of the Region, in its own service, and indirectly in the service of the nation as a whole. To date in both the planning and operational activity this focus has been maintained.

One of criteria of foreign assistance determined by the donor agency of the APVDP (the American Government) requires that bilateral development "give particular attention to those programmes, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economics of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort" (the "Percy" Amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act, 1974).

With this criterion in mind the US government singled out the following as one of its conditions to providing funding and expertise for the APVDP:

"Activities which enhance the position of women are to be considered priorities for project assistance ..." (G.-3 Planning Requirements for Project Activities, APVDP Project Paper, July 1978).

This criterion was viewed by both the Tanzanian and American governments as consistent with the formers own national policies (ibid; P.6), and certain actions accordingly integrated into the design of the Project. Once again the emphasis of these was to develop the productive capability of women although the intention as specified was expressed generally as : "Involving women significantly and equitably in the development process" (ibid; P.74).

It has been a main task of this study to evaluate how far the APVDP programme has to date succeeded in achieving these objectives.

APVDP IN HANANG DISTRICT

The focus of this evaluation has been Hanang District where APVDP activity has been effective for just over one year. As in the two other Pilot Districts a Rural Development Specialist (RDS) employed by APVDP spearheads action in the District. At the village level activities have been initiated in all four Pilot Wards, Madunga, Katesh, Gallapo and Magugu. The greatest amount of activity has been in Madunga Ward, where the RDS found political cadres (Katibu Tarafa, Katibu Kata, and Village Chairmen) most receptive to the APVDP initiative, and on a practical level, more willing to devote the necessary time and [illegible] to realising this initiative. A factor in their interest was doubtless that Madunga Ward as has been shown, had until then received little development attention.

The following chart details the village projects which had been fully formulated at the time of investigation.[1] The emphasis on [illegible] Madunga Ward will be evident.

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1. This does not include projects in Katesh Ward (2), nor District level projects (4). It should also be noted that some fifteen additional projects have since been formulated but not discussed here.

VILLAGE & WARD	PROJECT TITLE	DATE APPROVED	TOTAL LOAN/ GRANT	DIRECT BENEFICIALIS	CURRENT STATUS
Qamayu Madunga	Woodcutting Group	Aug.'80	11,550/-	22 Men	Operating
Madunga Kati Madunga	Woodworking Group	Nov.'80	15,770/-	10 Men	Operating
Utwari Madunga	Tilemaking	Dec.'80	-	Group of Men	Pending
Ward Project Madunga	Roads	Dec.'80	-	All [illegible] Villagers	Pending
Madunga Kati	Maize Mill	Jul.'80	65,000/-	Village especially women	Operating
Ward Project Madunga	Barley	Sep.'80	-	All Villagers	Operational
Ayamango Gallapo	Wells	-	-	All Villagers	Operational
Majengo Gallapo	Wells	-	-	All Villagers	Complete
Gallapo Gallapo	Improved Gravity feed	-	-	All Villagers	Operational
Magugu Magugu	Maize Mill/Huller	Jan.'81	75,000/-	Village expecially women	Operational

- Indicates no loan given directly, only technical expertise.

Women as Project Planners

Village projects are normally processed through the Village Council which must approve the project before its submission to APVDP (RIDEP). In practice in all three Pilot Districts the majority of village projects have originated from the Village Council itself, promoting projects designed to benefit the village as a whole.

It has already been stated that there is at least one woman councillor in each village in the Pilot Wards of Hanang. Up to three Village Council meetings have been held in the course of planning each project. Although both the RDS and Village Chairmen confirmed that women councillors have dutifully attended these meetings, their active participation in them has been no greater than normal. It is not unusual of course for the majority of the 25 councillors to appear passive in Council meetings where a handful of individuals tend to dominate. Nonetheless, women councillors are more consistantly quiet than men [illegible] councillors, and APVDP projects have not changed this in any way.

In only one instance were women outside the Village Council involved in planning a village project. This instance comprised the Gallapo Water Project, which was designed to provide all 8 villages in the Ward with Shallow wells or other water facilities. Four representatives of each village were invited to attend the planning meetings and it was specified that at least one of these participants should be a woman. At the first meeting five of the eight required women attended . In the second meeting two appeared. In subsequent meetings one woman only continued to attend and is still an active participant in the planning activity. At one point in the proceedings the RDS was tempted to refuse to continue the water planning meetings untill all eight women were present. Pressure to mobilise the project quickly made this difficult and the project has continued without the input of village women.

Not all village projects originate with the Village Council. Subsidiary village groups or co-operatives may present a request for assistance from APVDP, although this must ultimately be channelled through the Village Council. As far as production or income-generating projects are concerned the involvement of smaller, subsidiary groups, is often favoured. In Madunga Ward two of the projects implemented to date concern such groups; a woodcutting and a woodworking group. Neither group has any female members.

Planning of village development at the District, Division and Ward level in support of village activities is carried out by the RDS in close consultation with District Functional Heads and their staff, and Katibu Tarafa and Kata; that is, through the existing system and with existing personnel. The RDS asserted that if these posts were filled by women he would of course be working with women. For the mostpart however they are not. Only in Katesh Ward is there a female Katibu Kata and a female UCDA with whom the RDS has worked. Otherwise, as is typical in government and party, the majority of posts are filled by men.

Planning activity for villages at any level has thus not significantly involved women. Nor, it must be admitted, have any of the personnel involved in this planning activity made a persistent effort to do so, beyond that described in relation to the Gallapo Water Project. For his part the RDS had made no effort to ascertain if there were any woman's groups operating in the four Pilot Wards, what their plans, projects or needs were and how APVDP might assist them develop their productive capabilility. For their part the ten or so government staff working most closely with APVDP have never suggested that this area might deserve attention.

At the Division, Ward and Village level the issue is similarly not on the agenda. Village Chairmen have never brought to the attention of the RDS or government staff working with him, projects which directly involve and concern groups of women in the village. Finally village women themselves have not made requests or suggestions to their Village Councils for their own assistance from APVDP.

More disturbing is the fact that these women are on the whole only vaguely aware of the purpose of the APVDP, and totally unaware that it may be tapped to their own advantage. This is not surprising in Magugu Ward villages where the least APVDP activity has taken place, and for the most part only preliminary meetings with Councils held. It is surprising however that so few women in Madunga Ward are 'aware' of the project.

Other than female councillors few women interviewed were even aware of APVDP projects which were taking place or proposed (with the exception of one maize mill), and in no instances had women been consulted. The responsibility to inform villagers, men and women, lies firmly with the Village Council.

Village Women as Implementors of Projects

If village women haveon the whole been effectively excluded from planning APVDP projects this does not mean that they are also uninvolved in implementation.

As in all village projects which require labour, both men and women are called to participate. In most Magugu Ward villages women contribute the greater share of self-help labour. However in Madunga Ward where most APVDP projects have been initiated Village Councils allegedly find it difficult to involve women. Nonetheless in at least two projects women have provided labour; the construction of the Madunga Kati maize mill building and the establishment of experimental barley plots in all three villages of the Ward.

In the former project a small group of women, called together by the only female village councillor, assisted in carrying water for brick-making made the walls, and helped with the floor - all typical women's chores in building. In the barley project women have contributed labour in the digging of plots (not planted as yet), although not in numbers equal to men.

No women were involved in the implementation of the Gallapo Water Project. In Majango village complaints have arisen as a result of this. Women complained that the sitting of two wells constructed is invonvenient. When asked why they didn't inform the Drilling crew or Council at the time they claimed they either didn't know they were being dug, or did tell the Council 'but the Council didn't listen'. The importance of involving women in such projects is well-illustrated by this case. It will be recalled however that serious efforts were made to involve women in the planning of this Ward-wide Water Project. Responsibility for this failure lies with Village councils who 'failed' in their attempt to involve women representatives in the first place.

"Women as the finishing of projects"

Of 10 village projects whose processes were scrutinised five may be said to "benefit women'. Two of these are maize mill projects, and three are water projects. These projects benefit women primarily because it is women who carry the water and women who grind the maize. The typical perspective on such projects is that both are labour-saving and will doubtless be appreciated by the womenfolk.

Be this as it may, the preceeding chapter has pointed out that such projects, valid as they are, do not directly touch the base needs of women-one of which is simply to see a more equitable distribution of labour between men and women on such chores. Thus, while the prospect of a new water supply or a maize mill is welcomed, women interviewed tended to temper their enthusiasm with reminders that these were facilities that the Village Council should have provided the village with long ago,

and that they were not projects only women should be concerned about. For these women these projects do not, that is constitute 'women's development'.

Nonetheless, as subsequent work with women on a further maize mill project has shown, their enthusiasm is radically increased when they are brought into the planning process. In that instance women have even volunteered to raise funds themselves for the purchase of dieseline. The determination of how 'beneficial' a project is to women is thus relative.

Considering only the ten projects evaluated it is clear however that village women have not been involved to any extent, in fact, barely at all. Comments by RDS's in the other pilot Districts imply that this is the case elsewhere. For all its successes the APVDP has not yet succeeded in "involving women significantly and equitably in the development process". The reasons for this are not difficult to identify - nor as this report will finally show, difficult to overcome.

PLANNING TO INVOLVE WOMEN

A first reason for the failure of the APVDP in this area to date is found in the original plan of action specified by the Project Paper. The Plan, if it may be called that, is skeletal to say the least, and project personnel might be forgiven for allowing the issue 'to slip'. Three steps to involve or reach women were identified but only vaguely described:

- facilitating access to information to women;
- providing each agricultural centre with a female agricultural agent to work with women;
- utilising strong women leaders and politicians "to help women develop confidence" (Project Paper, Vol. 1: 76).

None of these aims is inherently bad; on the contrary all are essential elements of such a programme. Together however they do not constitute an effective or comprehensive plan. On the surface the impression is given that the project planners were uncertain how to approach the problem.

In examining the APVDP project document more closly it becomes clear that the project planners deliberately avoided compiling a comprehensive, detailed and discreet plan of action for women's development. This strategy is in line with most current aid-donor thinking which prefers to integrate the promotion of women's development within overall project aims and strategies (ICRW 19^0).

Thus the APVDP has sought to promote women's development strictly within the context of general development action designed to affect all villagers. Throughout the original APVDP project this strategy is implicit, and doubtless accounts for the rather fragmentary actions specified in regard to women. That is, the intention ot improve the access to information of village women is integral to the intention to improve information access to villagers (farmers) generally. So also the intention expressed in the Project Paper to make female extension agents available to woman farmers comes firmly within the context of improving extension generally.

In theory this strategy is correct. The problem is in the implementation. Evaluations of a number of integrated rural projects have shown that such programmes have had difficulty involving women on an equal basis with men in the target area. (ICRW, 19^0, AID, 19^0). It is frequently stated that conditions in the host country which have operated to exclude women from development opportunities continue to operate in regard to project activities. A project is faced with almost all-male policy making bodies, male administrations, male village councils, males with higher qualifications than women, more men in the labour force, many more men already involved in development activities, men making decisions, etc. Thus good intentions to see that women are included in new project activities face an immediate set of disadvantages usually not calculate for. More often than not programmes are well underway before recognition of the fact that women are not being reached, surfaces.

This has been the case with the implementation of the APVDP.

The origin of this relatively [illegible] determination to integrate women's development within general programmes derives directly from an awareness in recent years that general rural development programmes have failed to consider women at all. Concern about this has in fact become something of a 'cri de coeur' in woman's bureaus around the world.

The USAID Office of Women in Development (WID) has been particularly active in examining the problem (e.g. Dixon 19[illegible]0, Cheney & Lewis 1980) and the topic has inspired a number of monographs (e.g. Staudt, 1979), and directives or publications from international agencies (e.g. UNDP [illegible] Circular 25 February, 1977 G 3100-1).

What has not been solved in all these analyses is whether consideration of women in rural development may really be met through better and broader planning of general projects, or whether a special initiative [illegible] focusing exlusively on the problems of rural women, is ultimately more effective. An emerging new strategy is a compromise: the inclusion in rural programmes of a specific "women's component", which falls within the framework of a broader programme but has its own targets, timetable and methodology for reaching women. An example of this approach in [illegible] practice is found currently in Jamaica where a USAID - funded integrated rural programme has added an active "women's agricultural component" (Cheney & Lewis, December, 19[illegible]0).

The findings of this study indicate that such an approach might well be necessary. Few as they are, none of steps identified by the APVDP to reach women have been implemented, even in part.

Information has not reached women, female extension agents have not been brought into the programme, and strong women leaders have not been utilised. In part these failures reflect a more general failure to carryout the project as designed. Expectedly and usually correctly the basic design of such a programme is altered in the course of implementation. That the only measures concerning women's development have been lost in the process is less excusable. Realistically it appears that the plan of action and commitment to implement were simply not strong enough to prevent attention to women's needs falling by the wayside. Although doubtless not intended as token the action for women under APVDP has quickly emerged as such.

2. TANZANIA COMMITMENT TO WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

The Project Paper states that the intent of the APVDP to develop the productive potential of women is consistent with Tanzanian Government objectives. There is little doubt that the objective is a minor one in Tanzanian development. Certainly it does not have the weight to cause Tanzanian Civil Servants or politicians to put pressure on the APVDP to implement this particular commitment it has made.

On the contrary the reticence of both government and party to single out the issue as worthy of special attention (or reasources) was clearly illustrated when the topic was discussed in a recent Regional Planning Committee meeting (February, 1981). As described elsewhere, when given the chance to specifically include attention to women's development in its long term strategy, both party and government representatives declined to do so, indicating that the needs of women are being or will be met through general action programmes.

Meanwhile the absence of host-country pressure upon APVDP to tackle the women's issue is as instrumental as any factor in the inaction of the project on this front.

3. Operational Realities of Village Development

(i) As already described the APVDP operates through existing channels and personnel. In the village as elsewhere in government and Party the structure is male-dominated. Although an average of two Village Councillors are women (8%) they are not usually strong voices on the Council, nor many enough in number to genuinely represent the interests of women in their village. In some areas of the three Pilot Districts, particularly Iraq-speaking areas, the participation of women invillage government decision-making is so low as to lead the Mbulu Rural Development Specialist to comment that "women seem invisible in these villages". In such circumstances, it is not surprising that Village Councils do not request activities and support which are tackling the problems of village women. Nor is it surprising that Rural Development Specialists, - who are bound to a large extent by village requests - are not presenting projects which directly impact upon women.

(ii), There is evidence to suggest that the system whereby a Village Council ensures its representative nature is, not operating as effectively as it should. The system requires that decisions made in a Village Council, or issues which require consultation, be passed down through ten Cell Leaders to all households in the village.

Alternatively a Village Assembly is held to be attended by all villagers. The study found that Cell Leaders, all male in the ten villages covered, pass information on to other men. Although women believe this information is being passed to them, it was clear in a number of instances, that this is not the case. In one village an Mradi wa Afya meeting took place without the knowledge of most women interviewed on that day (Qameyu). In other instances women are clearly unaware of Council decisions as they involve APVDP. This ignorance may be the result of one of three breakdowns in communiciation: either husbands

are not forwarding information to wives; Cell Leaders are failing to inform husbands; or the Village Council is failing to inform [illegible] groups of people in Village Assemblies. Whichever the case the end result is the same: village women are largely beyond the reach of APVDP through the normal channels.

(iii) Development activity suffers from sex-typing which has hindered the involvement of village women in APVDP projects to date. There are certain projects which are considered suitable for women-sewing knitting, embroidery, vegetable gardens, cooking, etc. These have been detemined by many years of colonial government, party and church women's activities. Maize mills, road-building, tile-making, carpentry, etc. are all projects in which only men traditionally participate. Attempts by the RDS to involve women in these activities, particularly the proposed tile-making project, have failed. "Tile-making is men's work." (Women may however use the same clay for making pots). The reason given by most councillors as to why women may not be involved in a certain activity is that heavy labour is involved. A curious contradiction exists here. Women in all ten villages are used to a continuing burden of heavy work, especially carrying loads, and the most burdensome agricultural task (carrying the harvest from field to house) is 'women's work'.

(iv) As the individuals primarily responsible for promoting APVDP - funded development action in their Districts, the workload of Rural Development Specialists is recognised as considerable. Furthermore the relatively short life-time of the APVDP project (four years) places a not-so-subtle pressure upon these individuals to promote as many village development projects as possible.

The development of village projects is in particularly time-consuming. Rural Development Specialists may visit a village up to four times before having in hand a completed Village Request Form specifing the assistance required. Assisting the village to implement the project is often even more time-consuming. Experience of this study in working with women in four villages on project formulation indicates that the effort is even more time-consuming than when Councils alone are involved. It is not [illegible] that Rural Development Specialists have

tended to 'postpone' tackling this extra-time consuming work.

(v) Subtle pressure to delay on this issue also derives from Village Councils themselves who understandably are anxious to promote projects which have an impact on all villagers. This pressure was most explicity felt by this study when it began working on a proposed women's project in a village which has not received direct assistance from APVDP to date. Male councillors were 'afronted' that "women's problems are being addressed before ours" - i.e. the Council's as representing 'all' the village.

(vi) Finally, a disincentive for action involving women significantly and equitably in the development process is found in the fact that there are no formal requirements built into the village development programme sponsored by APVDP which force District personnel or Rural Development Specialists to meet that criterion of programming activities which will "enhance the position of women..." let alone to make such activities a priority, as the criterion suggests. At no point in the project approval process is the simple question asked: "How will this project help women?".

Reaching Village Women: A case Study of Four Villages

One of the terms of reference of this study comprised active rather than passive research in the sense that the consultant was to develop three project proposals in the pilot villages which would directly involve village women. The intention was that through this process the consultant would gain further insights into the problems of involving women in village development processes.

Attached as Appendix 'A' is a summary of seven project proposals which arose out of the exercise. Two of these proposals were developed at the District level in conjunction with the Department of Ujamaa na Ushirika in Hanang, and concern the training of village women secretaries in accounting in one case, and the training of district personnel dealing with village women, in the other. The need for both was made particularly apparent in the course of project formulation. These are discussed first.

(a) Training of Women's Development Personnel

The study worked closely with the District UWT in developing projects directly related to village women. The UWT Chairwoman accompanied the consultant to all village meetings in her official capacity. The study also worked closely with a UCDA and a Home Economist, whose primary tasks were to help village women.

It became immediately apparent to the consultant that the UWT Chairwoman in particular found it extremely difficult to know how to proceed once a group of women had identified an income-generating project they wished to pursue.

The predominant reaction of the Chairwoman was 'well, that's fine, now get on with it'. Assistance in formulating the project was not offered at any point.

Initially the UWT Chairwoman considered that it was not her function to assist village women beyond helping them form UWT's and 'encouraging' them in their efforts. She did give them a number of suggestions as to projects they could concern themselves with; sewing, knitting, shambas, etc.

After participating in project planning with women in four villages this Chairwoman became acutely aware of the need for planning and management skills to assist village groups, and has since been emphatic that training be given UWT Chairwomen and Secretaries in these skills. Although UCDA's staff are trained in 'village development' it is clear that in their case also, project formulation and management are extremely weak areas. Neither officials worked with had any concept of costing or financial analysis and suggested projects in unviable frameworks.

The weaknesses exprerienced in practice confirmed what had already been found in examining women's project's generally to the effect that many fail as a result of poor planning in the first place, and that village women have not had an effective source of guidance in this area.

(b) Management Skills of Village Women

The finding of the study that village women's groups lack basic management skills was also confirmed by the active formulation of projects with five different women's groups. The most outstanding lack is in financial management. Although some groups have handled large sums of money at one time or another, as described before, they have few records on how the money was gained and spent, and those they

have are currently in the hands of Village Council Secretaries. The consultant was concerned that the five groups with whom projects were eventually defined, do not currently have secretaries whose competence can be guaranteed. Thus in all instances Village Council secretaries have agreed to be formally responsible for the book-keeping of the projects on the one hand and to teach these secretaries basic-book-keeping skills on the other. This is an unsatisfactory situation, and a project defined by the consultant provides the opportunity for 15 village women secretaries to immediately receive basic accounting training under the auspices of the Department of Ujamaa na Ushirika.

(c) Tackling Women's Development Through General Village Project

In accordance with the strategy to work within existing programmatic lines and through the channels utilised by the APVDP, the study directed its attention to Village Councils as the institution through which involvement of women should be promoted. The priority problem discussed with councillors was how to ensure women were more involved in general village development projects, on the one hand, and able to directly' benefit from village development, on the other.

The first point that should be noted in this regard is that of the four village councils worked most closely with on this issue were entirely supportive of the concept of women's development.

Secondly, it should be noted that all four councils immediately interpreted women's development as an issue which did not involve them directly other than as catalysts to the establishment of women's groups in the village. Women's Development meant to these councillors sewing groups, women's shambas, beer-brewing, and other projects which were the conventional women's 'type' of projects on the one hand, and which only involved women in their implementation, on the other.

The concept that village women should be armore directly and effectively involved in general village development met with some skepticism and ambivalence.

Initially most councillors insisted that women were involved to the same extent as any other villagers. They could attend Village Assemblies and give their opinion on proposals, they were informed of developments through the Dalozi, etc. After some discussion it was agreed that women nonetheless are not as actively involved in decision-making as men; not only do they attend fewer meetings and in fewer numbers, but their participation is often passive.

However, the important point to emerge from these discussions was the belief amongst a good many councillors that more effective representation and participation of women is unnecessary: Councils represent the needs of all villagers, it was claimed, and in any event women are represented by their husbands. It is the man's job to attend meetings and make decisions. Many councillors also expressed the concern that when women are drawn into council or public meetings for one purpose or another they remain very quiet and contribute little or nothing to the meeting.

The fact that the predominantly-male councils do not in fact represent the interests and needs of women was most explicity illustrated to the study in two instances in which councils strongly recommended women's projects for the women to pursue, which were promptly rejected by the women themselves when they met together.

Nonetheless comments to the effect that women are passive participants of council and other meetings was confirmed when the same two Villages Councils held meetings to which equal numbers of women were invited in order to participate in the planning of village projects which affected them.

These two instances comprised the formulation of a mat marketing centre project in Mapea village (Magugu) and a maize wmill in Ayemango village (Gallapo). Both villages are considered "progressive', and in the case of Mapea five councillors are themselves women.

All the same the female participants were generally [illegible] as predicted, not making comments unless questioned - this despite the fact that the projects under discussion had originated from themselves and intimately concerned them.

In this regard it is worth nothing the findings of an evaluation of 32 rural development projects as they involved and benefitted women. The report of this evaluation (USAID, 1980) concluded that when women's projects are affiliated or channelled through male-dominated institutions, decision making tends to be transferred to men (P. 23). The same process seemed to be operating in the context of this study's efforts to get women involved. When questioned after the meeting as to why they hadn't asked questions or offered opinions women claimed that they were 'too shy', that it was the first council meeting they had attended, that it is unusual for women to speak in meetings, etc. The study concluded that the tactic of seeing that a <u>representative group of women attended council meetings as temporarily co-opted advisors when matters which affect women are discussed</u> is nonetheless worth pusuing. It is suspected that as th these women attend more and more meetings they will become less reticent to actively contribute. Their presence in equal numbers to men certainly made the mostly male councillors much more concerned to know the views of women than has been exhibited in previous council meetings. For their part women participants had the opportunity to observe how a formal council meeting operates on the one hand, and more specifically, to know for the first time how a potential project is evaluated for its feasibility. Such experience can hardly go

(d) Working with All-Women Groups

At the same time the study concluded that the participation of women in on development action would not be well-served by following that strategy stratagy alone. This conclusion arose after a number of planning meetings held with only women. In no instances was the reticence to participate found in council meetings mirrored in these all-women meetings. On the contrary the participation was extremely high; over half the women present making comments at one point or another. Discussion was uninhibited, doubts and questions expressed, and the effort made to ensure every participant understood the proceedings. There was in addition a much more explicit attempt to achieve consensus that had been exhibited in council meetings which a handful of members tend to dominate. Rather than confirming their secondary role indecision-making as the council meetings had tended to do, women left these meetings with a sense of solidarity, pride, self-confidence, and much enthusiasm for the project in hand.

The importance of women working together was no where better illustrated than in Madunga Ward where women from the three villages had baraly ever met together for such a purpose before. The meetings they attended proved to be most critical and constructive steps in their own development.

In this regard it is worth nothing again a finding of the evaluation of 32 rural development projects mentioned above. There it is concluded that:

" The impact of projects is magnified when women are organised for group action, particularly when they were previously confined to their household, or were unused to collective activity...evaluations referred specifically to the group process as a vital ingredient of project success... (furthermore) when limited to women only, the group may offer the only culturally acceptable means for participants to leave their homes ....." (USAID 1980: 45).

All these factors were very much at play in the meetings held in Madunga Ward. Further, without the experience of how to run a meeting more formally, the women utilised traditional and locally relevant means of ensuring participation, of controlling the meetings, and of reaching agreement, all immediately meaningful to the women participants.

(In one instance this included the citation of an hour-long centuries-old Kiraq prayer urging the guidance of the group, the honesty of the newly-appointed leaders, and the success of their efforts to work together for the first time).

There are certain disadvantages to working with all-women groups to promote their involvement indevelopment activity. Firstly, it is very time-consuming. Developing projects with village councils is an adequately time-consuming task, as all RDS's have found. Working with any sub-group in the village, whether they be men or woman, is necessarily even more time-consuming. In the case of women in particular few management skills of any kind exist, especially where women have not been involved in co-operative or group initiatives before. The initiation of income-generating projects requires careful planning in particular, and probably a lot more supervision and assistance in the course of the project's implementation than is required when working with village councils alone.

The vaccum of leadership training and management ability is a particular problem of all-women groups the study found in working with three women's groups in Madunga Ward that on their own they had much difficulty in appointing leaders in the first place. Most women were labouring under the illusion that they could do little together until someone from outside((like a Bibi Maendeleo) came and assisted them. Once it was pointed out to them that there were potential leaders amongst themselves, and that they shouldn't expect perfect leadership overnight, that it was a process to be learnt like any other, these groups in fact experienced little difficulty in appointing individuals.

The lack of experience with finance, mentioned earlier were more problems. In Wairaq areas in particular women were anxious about this aspect of embarking on income-generating activities. More broadly, women in all three Wards expressed much anxiety about <u>loans</u>.

Their preference was to receive no loans which greatly limited the projects they could initiate. Much time was taken in explaining the procedures in detail, and once projects were identified, showing them that if a project was viable they should have no difficulty in repaying a loan.

Another problem exists in women's groups in that they are by their nature usually large bodies, incorporating up to three hundred village women in one group. Of course all these women are anxious to participate in projects. Much time needs to be spent explaining the impossibility of operating effectively in such numbers for the vast majority of projects, and the need to elect production groups to implement certain projects. Perhaps the saving grace of this arrangement is the possibility for the production group to provide capital for the initiation of further production groups in the village.

(e) Relevant Women's Projects

The process of actually establishing women's groups in two villages, and formulating five distinct projects with women in four villages yielded insights on the question of just what projects woman are interested in pursuing and what in their view will assist their development.

The outstanding priority for development action is for income-generating projects. The reasons for this have been given elsewhere.

Perhaps more surprising was the enthusiasm evident for the traditional home-economics type projects; sewing, handcrafts making, etc. After discussing potential projects at length and in particular why one project was fovoured over another, it was clear that the following factors came into play:

- The traditional conceptualisation of what women's projects are;
- the preference for projects which do not take women too far from their homes;

- the preference for projects which fit into home timetables;
- the preference for projects which utilise existing skills; or, in other cases, a preference for projects which teach new skills;
- a preference for projects for which least capital is required;
- a preference for projects which will be "acceptable' to husbands, and which the women will therefore be able to pursue 'untroubled' by them;
- a preference for projects which don't involve men in any way;
- a preference for projects which involve the least farm labour, partly because conflicts will arise between maintaining household plots and womens plots;
- a preference for 'simple' projects the dynamics of which are well understood.

These preferences were expressed most firmly in those two villages where no projects had been undertaken by women in the past (Qameyu), Madunga Kati). It is significant that women in both Ayamango and Mapea, while not a great deal more experienced in running projects, eventually settled on projects which were much more complex, and initially in any event, yielded the least direct return. In Mapea the final project the women decided to embark upon comprises the establishment of a Mat Marketing Centre, designed to facilitate the marketing problems of mat producers i n the village. In Ayamango women eventually settled on a plan to establish a maize mill in their village, deciding to ask the village council to join forces with them in this enterprise. Although Ayamango is possibly the wealthiest village of the ten villages visited by this study, and the one village where an interest in income-generating projects was definitely tempered by a disinclination for too much 'work' to achieve income, the maize mill project finally agreed upon will ultimately yield the village UWT income higher than that generated by any of t the other projects. Only in Ayamango however did women feel they had the capability to launch such 'complicated' project, and even then, they wished to do so only in conjunction with the Village Council.

The study concluded that it was inadvisable to exert pressure upon the women at this point to take up more complex projects than those they finally selected; Beer-Brewing, Tailoring, Garden/Orchard, Mat Marketing, and Maize mill. This was particularly so in regard to the first three projects, whose members had never participated in a co-operative project before. Nonetheless it is the view of this study that as the experience of these women's groups develops they should be encouraged to take up more capital-intensive projects, most of which have traditionally fallen into the sphere of 'men's projects'. Not only will these lead to a much higher income for members of production groups, it will help them enter areas of concern where men traditionally alone have authority and skill. This is not important for its own sake but as a means to

- upgrade their own self-image as productive villagers, and that held by other villagers;

- facilitate their involvement in more general village projects (male-projects);

- facilitate action ultimately required to equalise the sharing of income derived from the two major productive activities of villages; agrcúlture and livestock-raísing.

V. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE VILLAGE

Committed as it is with developing the productivity capability of village women, the APVDP is concerned to identify the current role of women in village level production. Below, the productive basis of each Ward is first briefly described.

1. The Productive Basis of the Three Wards

Agriculture

All three Hanang Pilot Wards examined by the study are primarily agricultural, villagers growing a combination of cash and food crops. The highest return is expectedly found in the fertile Gallapo Ward where around 210 million shillings worth of cash crops are produced every year (using National Maize Corporation prices) giving each household an average of 6,464/- a year. By comparison the cash crops grown in the high altitude Madunga Ward amount in value to little more than one million shillings a year, giving each household in the Ward an average of well under 2,000/- a year. The value of crops in Magugu Ward was not calculated but it is believed to be somewhere between the two.

The different altitude and rainfall of the three areas determines the crops grown. In Madunga most households grow enough maize for their own consumption only, putting most of their energy into the production of the labour-intensive cash crops of potatoes, onions, garlic, peas, beans and to a much lesser extent pyrethrum.[1] Potatoes are the major cash-earning crop.

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1. Although the original Project Paper (1978) says both wheat and millet are grown in Madunga no wheat is in evidence and under ten acres of millet grown in the whole Ward.

In Gallapo Ward the main cash crops are also food crops; maize, peas, beans, finger millet and peas. In the well-irrigated areas of Magugu Ward rice is grown. Cotton, groundnuts, and castor are also grown along with the more traditional crops of maize, beans peas, and a small amount of coffee.

In all three Wards the average size of household plots varies between 3 and 5 acres. Whereas in Madunga Ward the plot - size is kept low because of the lack of ox-ploughs and tractors, in the other two Wards land availability is the key constraint. There are no hard and fast rules about plot size. In both Gallapo and Magugu "good" farmers may apply for more land, and a number of sizeable holdings are found in both areas.

VILLAGE	C R O P	TOTAL ACREAGE	TOTAL YIELD BAGS	TOTAL CASH VALUE
Madunga Ward				
Utwari	Onions	96	960	23,040/-
	Beans	218	440	-
	Potatoes	10	300	54,000/-
	Peas	37	9,990 kilos	17,480/-
	Pyrethrum	14	500 kilos	3,000/-
		375		97,520
Madunga Kati	Beans	233	466	139,800/-
	Peas	150	40,500 kilos	70,875/-
	Potatoes	100	3,000	540,000/-
	Unions	10	100	24,000/-
		493		774,675/-
Qamayu	Beans	200	400	120,000/-
	Potatoes	100	3,000	540,000/-
	Peas	480	129,600 kilos	226,800/-
	Pyrethrum	35	1,260 kilos	7,560/-
		815		894,360/-

Note : These figures derived directly from Village Secretary's records. They are markedly different from figures obtain by the Village Profile Survey (March, 1981).

MAIN CASH CROPS GROWN IN GALLAPO WARD 1979/80

C R O P	ACRES	YIELD (BAGS)	TOTAL CASH VALUE *
Maize	13,016	130,160	13,016,000/-
Peas (Pigeon)	6,000	12,000	3,600,000/-
Beans	4,000	12,000	3,000,000/-
Finger Millet	600	4,800	1,200,000/-
Peas	300	600	180,000/-
	23,916		[illegible]

*) At National Milling Corporation prices.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN - MAGUGU WARD 1979/80

ACRES

VILLAGE	COTTON	GROUNDNUTS	RICE	MAIZE	SORGHUM	CASTOR	PEAS	CASSAVA	PEAS PIGEON	COFFEE	SUNFLOWER
Magugu	170	600	-	100	200	18	50	-	-	-	6
Matufa	170	600	667	450	200	18	50	-	-	-	6
Mawemairo	170	128	667	1,800	200	18	50	-	864	-	6
Sarame	170	200	-	-	200	18	50	-	-	-	6
Mapea	10	128	8,865	100	200	18	50	-	-	-	6
Masware	170	128	500	250	200	18	50	155	-	-	6
Gichameda	30	128	834	300	200	18	50	155	-	-	6
Darakuta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	113	-
TOTAL	890	1,912	3,554	3,000	1,400	126	350	310	864	113	42

Livestock :

In all three Wards households keep livestock to supplement their income from agriculture. Below is an example of the value of livestock in one village and for one whole ward.

Qameyu Village	Cattle	8,000	16,000,000/-
	Sheep	4,000	800,000/-
	Goats	2,000	800,000/-
	Pigs	1,380	2,760,000/-
			20,360,000/-
Gallapo Ward	Cattle	28,000	560,000,000/-
	Sheep	16,000	3,200,000/-
	Goats	19,000	7,600,000/-
	Pigs	150	300,000/-
			571,000,000/-

As has been implied elsewhere the status of both agricultural and livestock management in terms of improved methods, use of modern implements, inputs, credit and extension, varies widely amongst the three Wards. In Madunga no evidence of improved methods in either crop production or cattle-keeping were observed, with the exception of the pyrethrum crop, introduced into the Ward only in 1970, and pig-keeping in the instance of one individual (Utwari). Spacing of crops, use of fertilizers, and treatment of pests all follow traditional not recommended practices. Manuring is however widely practised in all three villages of Madunga Ward.

Livestock are still kept inside the house at night with the family and equally unhygienic milking practises used. Transmission of diseases between humans and animals is apparently frequent but veterinary care limited. Modern practices of castrating, dehorning, and the use of improved bulls, or even control of mating, are not widely practised, if at all. Dipping of livestock is however widely followed, when the solutions are available. Two of the three villages now have their own dips. Destocking is a particular anathema to livestock owners in the Ward.

Gallapo Ward on the other hand is served by numerous Dip Attendants and with a Veterinary Demonstration and Research Centre in Gallapo village itself the Ward is increasingly well-served. Innoculations of beasts are allegedly frequent and basic improved husbandry practises gradually being taken up. Nevertheless there is no evidence here either of effective destocking or range management.

As has been described elsewhere Gallapo has the services of an effective Bwana Shamba who receives support from the National Maize Programme. Improved crop practices are said to be followed by some 45% of households.

Considering the wide range of crops grown in Magugu Ward it is surprising how little extension advice is available there. The Bwana Shamba is ineffective and Village Chairman noted that the presence of estates in the area for so many years has had little or no impact on the agricultural practices of villagers. From all accounts it would appear that Magugu Ward represents the normal or typical situation in the District as far as extension, inputs, credit availability and use of improved practices are concerned.

Productive Capabilities

The APVDP Project paper (1978) noted that agriculture in all three Wards would benefit by the introduction of ox-ploughs. This process has in fact begun, although the numbers of ox-ploughs made, available by the Project have as yet been few.[1] Land use Planning was also singled out as a critical pre-requisite to the improvement of both livestock and agriculture production, with an emphasis on de-stocking and range management. Steps towards this have been taken by the Project. In both Gallapo and Madunga Wards dairy production was also [illegible] out as an area of potential, and in the latter Ward, the introduction of sheep as well. In Magugu Ward expanded irrigation was cited as necessary and the expansion of maize, rice, serena/oilseed crops. Steps to implement of these improvements are being initiated by the Project.

Other Productive Activities

There is a surprising lack of economic activity outside agriculture and livestock-raising practised in the three Wards. A small number of fundis exist in each Ward, perhaps a shoe maker, carpenter, and amongst women, cake-sellers (except in Madunga Ward). However these activities are carried on from the house and on a sporadic basis. In both Magugu and Gallapo villages a large number of private shops and cafes exist, both villages being recognised as semi-urban areas. In most other villages one privately-owned shop usually exists. In all ten villages studied except Halla the Village Council Operates a village shop, selling consumer articles, purchased wholesale from the Rural Trading Co-operative (RTC). In both Magugu and Madunga Wards a number of women produce mats and baskets for sale on a regular basis. In Gallapo Ward pots are produced.

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1. Three-quarters of the Ox-ploughs purchased by the Project in Hanang went to the fourth Pilot Ward, Katesh, where the need was considered greatest.

There are a limited number of other productive activities pursued by women, described later.

In Madunga Ward three formal production groups operate, two of which are woodworking groups and one of which is a woodcutting co-operative, licenced to cut in the nearby Nou Forest Reserve. In Gallapo Ward the Roman Catholic Mission runs a woodworking group which also produces ox-carts for sale from time to time.

None of the productive activities outlined above are considered significant, all being strictly supplementary and secondary to farming. Only a very small proportion of villagers adopt one or other activity as a full-time pursuit or profession. The vast majority of villagers are farmers, preoccupied with agricultural and livestock-raising tasks. The following section will examine the role of women in these important areas.

2. The Role of Women in Agriculture

A great deal has been written in the last ten years about the participation of women in agriculture and more broadly their contribution in the labour market generally. Some studies have focused on women in urban situations (e.g. in regard to Tanzania, Swantz, Ausi, Mlay & Madha, 1976). Others have tackled the important issue of methodologies for computating labour input,[1] concluding that biases in the 'economic activity' concept operate to the disadvantage of women Third World countries. The finding of such studies are worth summarising here:

(a) The standard labour force concept refers to activities for which income in cash/kind is the intended or desired outcome- this results in the exclusion of many workers from the labour force statistics because what they produce is not considered income though it is critical to the production process.

(b) The practice of [illegible] is to exclude activities connected with domestic work except when these are performed by paid domestic servants and/or result in the actual production of goods. This means that women's contribution to the economy as housewives is not taken into account, nor is the value of such services included in the conventional accounting of national income.

(c) A strict application of the labour force definition tends to exclude "unpaid family labour" from the economically active population.

(d) Census Interviewers [illegible] to classify rural women who identify themselves as housewives as economically inactive, without probing into other work performed..

(e) Men and women in low income economies perform a multiplicity of economic roles in order to survive. The practice is to classify individuals according to their primary activity. This ommits secondary activities.

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1. ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1979

In the 1970's regional means show that women's reported labour force participation rates are highest in Africa 45.8%
Asia 42.9%
Middle East [illegible]: 11.4%
Latin America 26.8%
The mean for 105 LDC is 36%.

(f) Labour force surveys and Censii inquire about work performed in the past week or month and on this basis categorise the respondant as economically active or inactive. Many women work only in peak seasons because they are usually part of a reserve labour pool.

(g) The labour force approach tends to exclude many activities in the informal sectors of the rural and more particularly the urban economy. 'Self employed' persons are often excluded.

(h) Cultural biases in reporting exist e.g. Muslim women are not supposed to 'work'.

(i) Female respondents are not always concious of themselves as economic beings.

(Summarised from ICRW April 1980a).

Studies on the productive activities of women which are of most interest to us here concern the role of women in agricultural production in the developing world.

Interest in this area accelerated with the landmark study by Ester Boserup (1970) in which she evaluated the labour input of women in a large number of African societies, decla-ring a good number of them 'female farming systems', the bulk of farm activity being carried out by women. Since then numerous studies in Africa, Asia and South America have confirmed the more general thesis of Boserup's work, and some ten years later the important role of peasant women in agriculure is widely recognised.

Further studies[1] examined the origins of current division of labour in the world today, both in industrial and agricultural societies (e.g. Elliott, 1976 and in reference to Tanzania, Mbilinyi, 1977). The two key findings which emerge from these studies indicate that both industrialization and colonialism have played a key role in altering more traditional divisions of labour, always to the ultimate disadvantage of women, who end up doing more work but with less control over the fruits of their labour.

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1. e.g. Goddy and Buckley (1973) classify 279 societies in African and marchall evidence that women play the major role in cultivation or at least equal role to men, in 71% of them. The female proportion of the Agricultural labour force is greatest in Africa and Asia: Africa :39%, Asia 28%, Middle East: 18%, Latin America : 11% (Cheney & Lewis, October, 1980).

As a result of these studies and their widely-published findings a new concern has emerged that rural development programmes, and agricultural programmes and policies in particular, have to date been designed. with male farmers in mind, and for the most part have failed to reach women farmers. An international conference organised to discuss the problem concluded that : "....development widens the gap between men and women's earning power, because planner's western, middle-class bias blinds them to the important role of women....." (Tinker, 1979: 3).

More broadly it was concluded that development has not reached women as a result of ommission of concern; reinforcement of values against women's involvement; and poor planning (ibid; P.5)

A large body of literature is emerging (especially from international aid agencies, USAID, SIDA,UNDP) decrying this situation and urging planner to 'consider women' in their programming. Agricultural extension programmes have come under particular fire.

Even more recently planners have become aware of the growth of an important sub-group in agricultural societies of the Third World, <u>female headed-households</u>, and where this group has striking proportions (e.g. Botswana, Lesotho) moves are beginning to be made to orientate programmes to focus on these groups (e.g. Botswana : Proposed Norwegian Aid Programme, Dec, 1980). Census data in Tanzania puts the proportion of female headed-households at 24%. Swantz (1976) gives detailed area case studies which confirm the growth of this sub-group in the population, and reinforces world-wide evidence that the traditional stable family unit of agricultural societies is fast breaking down, and more and more women are becoming the sole economic providers of their families (Buvinic & Youssef, 1978).

Researchers in this field show a continuing move towards labour substitution in which women are taking over traditionally male areas of farm activity with the increase in male migration to urban areas. In studies which refer specifically to East Africa the impact of mechanization, the reduced number of polygamous families, increased school attendance by children (who previously provided labour), the continuing bias towards cash crops, and the increasingly unstable nature of agricultural communities as a result of urbanization, increased travelling and employment opportunities, are singled out as critical factors in the current division of agricultural labour, again usually to the detriment of female farmers.[1] Other studies have shown in addition that the poorer a household the greater the share of agricultural labour carried out by women.[2]

It was not the intent of this short study to determine whether village women are playing a role in agricultural production - that much may be taken for granted. Nor was the study interested to determine if that role is major in terms of labour input, although the data collected confirms that the majority of village women work longer hours on the farm and on more routine and continuous tasks than men. Nor again was the study able to quantify this role in precise terms, an exercise would which require a full season's observation and time study. From data already made available to the APVDP project (e.g. the work of Fortmann, 1977) it has long been taken as given that women in the Pilot Districts play a significant role in agricultural production.

The study has not taken the opportunity to further the debate as to whether the involvement of women, (regarded as the conservative element in society) in agriculture is a subtle but real impediment to the adoption

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1. For example inregard to Kenya see Staudt 1979, in regard to Tanzania see Swantz 1976.

2. For example in Bangladesh rich peasant women contribute 35% of the labour, poor women 70%. In Peru middle & rich peasant women contribute 21% of labour, poor peasants 35% (ICRC April, 1980a).

of improved methods, and thus productivity. The view has been taken that if village women do practise more traditional methods than male farmers, it is for reasons beyond their immediate control - lack of resources, lower exposure to extension, less time, less decision-making power, etc. In any event enough evidence exists in the Tanzanian context to show that women farmers are good farmers and managers when they have the resources they need to support and enhance their efforts (Swantz, 1976, Staudt, 1979, Fortmann, 1977). Fortmann in particular shows that women farmers are employing improved methods when they have the opportunity.

The question that is of paramount interest to this study is to determine at which points in agricultural production women are exercising decision-making power. This information is viewed as important for knowing the potential focus points for women's extension programmes, and the areas where labour-saving techniques and improvements will have the most impact upon women farmers.

3. The Division of Labour

Expectedly, the study found out very quickly that what dicision-making authority there is in the hands of women farmers exists in conjunction with those tasks they normally perform. That is, if a woman is responsible for manuring a crop, whether she actually does it or not, how important she considers it to be, the amount and timing, are all at least partially dependent upon her authority. So also if a male farmers typically purchases seed for planting, the decision as to what will be planted that season rests primarily upon him.

Therefore it is worth listing briefly the findings of the study as to the division of labour in crop production in the ten villages examined. This information derives from both men and women farmers, and the majority response is indicated. It must be noted that the division of labour in agriculture is not as rigidly or uniformly adhered to as was probably the case in former years. As already pointed out there are many factors operating in modern rural society which render traditional labour practises less stable than previously. Particularly in Gallapo and Magugu Wards this 'flexibility' was in evidence. For example women responded that if the household could afford to hire a tractor and if one is available, the husband will do the ploughing. If not, they themselves.

Only in Madunga Ward, already noted for its traditonal stability and where machanised agriculture, inputs, etc. have yet to affect the Ward, was the response to questions on division of labour uniform. Even here exceptions were encountered where female-headed households were involved (or where the only male household members were old or unfit).

1. The Division of Labour in Agriculture

The following chart shows which tasks most men and women perform in Maduuga Ward. It will be noted that differences exist depending upon the crop

TASK	CROPS			
	MAIZE	PYRETHRUM	POTATOES/ONIONS	MILLET/BEANS
Buy/select seeds	Men	Men	Men/women	Men
Clear land	Men	Man	Men	Men
Plant/ Transplant	Women	Women	Men/Women	Women
Thin/weed	Men/Women	Women	Men/Women	Women
Manure	Women & girls	Women	Women	Women
Scare Birds	Women/ children	-	-	-
Harvest	Men/women children	Women & girls	Women/Men	Women
Dry	Women	Women	Women	Women
Thresh	Women/Men	-	-	Women
Bag/Transport	Women/Men	Women	Women/Men	Women
Sell	Men	Men	Men	Men

It will be noted from this data that the only tasks men consistently do on their own is the initial clearing of land and selling of the crop. Although as comparison with Gallapo and Magugu Wards will show, labour is more equally shared than usual in Madunga Ward, women still do most of the work. The growing of millet and beans is entirely a women's affair, and the care of the pyrethrum crop, a highly time-consuming task, largely the responsibility of women. It will also be noted that children are utilised to harvest the maize - a widespread practice throughout the three Wards. Perhaps the most labour-intensive activity is hoe-ing which is traditionally done by mixed working parties. Although the host (i.e. his wife) brews and provides beer in an increasing number of cases, no payment is given the participants. Even beer is not always provided, the labour being reciprocated elsewhere; this contrasts strongly with Gallapo and Magugu Wards where interviewees said it was extremely unlikely that people would join a work-party unless beer and often food and cash were provided.

In Gallapo Ward the very mixed nature of the population in the Ward (e.g. Wafrome, Wairaq, Warangi, Warusha, Waporowa,) together with the disparities in wealth amongst villagers means that responses were more varied than those obtained in Madunga Ward. The majority response is given below. Only maize growing, by far the largest crop, was examined. The data for Magugu Ward yielded a smiliar response to that received in Gallapo, with the additional repeated comment that "women are doing most" and "many men are away from the home so women do it all". More generally, a large number of respondents emphasised that harvesting, a task done elsewhere by both men and women, is usually done by women alone (Magugu, Gichameda, Mapea).

To conclude, the pattern that emerges is that the less traditional the circumstances the more work women do on the farm. However even in Madunga Ward the hours of labour of women were significantly higher than those of men.

GALLAPO WARD:

MAGUBU WARD :

TASK	MAIZE	TASK	MAIZE & RICE
Plough	Men	Plough	Men/Women
Plant	Women	Plant, Transplant	Women
Weed	Women	Thin, weed	Women
Manure/Fert.	-	Manure/Fert.	-
Scare Birds	Children	Scare Birds	Men/women/child.
Apply Insecticide	Women	Apply Insect.	Women
Harvest	Women/Men	Harvest	Women
Carry Home	Women*	Carry home	Women*
Dry	Women	Dry	Women
Thresh	Women/men	Thresh	Women/Men
Bag	Women/Men	Bag	Women/Men
Sell	Men	Sell	Men

* If a tractor or cart available, men do this task.

In short, according to this limited study, women are contributing the greater share of the labour on the farm in all circumstances. These findings are consistent with more thorough and detailed studies conducted elsewhere in the country (e.g. Swantz, 1976, Fortmann, 1977).

Recently studies dealing with the issue of women's farm labour have stressed the need to include the labour time involved in the activities which follow harvesting. The storing and checking of crops, and the processing grains prior to consumption are usually added into this equation. No information was collected by this study to determine the hours spent on such activities, but accepting that such tasks are routinely performed by women in all three areas studied, their contribution to crop production is thereby only increased.

It has also become the practice to calculate the number of hours women spent doing certain tasks which might otherwise be spent on the farm. Fortmann (1977) has called this the "enabling function" of women; that is in performing these tasks they release male members of the household to pursue even further income-generating or productive activities. She does not discuss whether men actually take up these opportunities, or whether their leisure time is simply increased. From data collected from a wide range of situations throughout peasant societies it would appear that the latter is more often the case (e.g. Boserup, 1970, SIDA, 1974, Tinker & Bramsen, 1976 Mbilinyi, 1977, ICRW, April, 1980a).

The "enabling function" Fortmann describes comprises seven key household tasks, viz; collecting firewood, fetching water, buying food, pounding, cooking and cleaning (Fortmann, 1977 : 11). Women interviewed by this study in the ten villages added the following tasks which they considered to be time-consuming, and tasks which male members of the household could do as well; child-watching, calf and pig-caring,

visits to maize mill, visits to clinic with sick children. They for their part, were, on the whole quite willing to take over one traditionally male task; "surveying and roaming the village to keep up to date with public affairs....."

In Madunga Ward interviewees provided the following list of tasks routinely performed by men and women.

Women	Hours per day
Cleaning out dung from house every morning	½
Cooking food three times a day	2
Collecting fodder for calves	1
Watching over children	Continuous
Collecting firewood	1
Cutting firewood	¼
Milking cows	½
Visiting sick relatives/friends	2 (not daily)
Cleaning house and surroundings	Continuous
Collecting water	1 (but often children)
Collecting wild vegetables, berries	2 (not daily)
Going to maize mill	2 (2 x per week)
Going to clinic	2 (1 - 2 x per month)
Farming	4
Washing clothes	½
Making baskets, mats	1
Fixing walls or grass roof of house	1 (not daily)
Shopping	1 (1 x per week)
Processing grains	1
Checking stored foods	Not daily
Herding	2 (not daily)

Men	Hours per Day
Farming	2
Building houses/fixing house etc.	1
Building kraals	(not daily)
Herding	3
Shopping	1
Meetings	4 (not daily)
Safaris	(Not daily)
"Roaming and surveying" (and possibly pombe)	3
Looking for food when shortages	(Not daily)
Taking sick people to hospital	1 day

In villages visited in both Magugu and Gallapo a similar distribution of labour exists, except that women appear to visit the Maize Mill, Clinic and shops more frequently. All women claim that a full day can be lost one these activities, as often as ten a month. Visits to the maize mill vary depending upon the size of household but range from 3 to 8 times a month. Usually only one debe of maize is ground at any one visit. Distances from the mill determine the time lost. In addition women in both Magugu and Gallapo collect water themselves more frequently than women in Madunga Ward who usually utilise their children for that task.

Whatever the variances the fact remains that women are, as villages themselves so frequently cite, 'busier' than men. The assumption has frequently been made that if women had more time they would spend it on the farm, thus increasing their 'productivity'. The record of men farmers in this regard does not suggest that this is so; men obviously have more leisure time and fewer duties, but this does not result in their increased labour on the farm. Without suggesting that men are inherently lazier than women it nonetheless must be noted that women do tend to spend their leisure hours more productively than men.

Most women spend the hot hours of the day whilst minding children also producing utility crafts (mats, pots, baskets etc) for sale, or in food processing and preparation. Further, a number of women cited, in different contexts, than they do spend more time on the farm "when they have time", especially when a relative is minding the children and house.

The data collected on the use of time was inadequate to draw any conclusions onthis issue. Nonetheless, for latter discussion the points made above should be borne in mind.

The Division of Labour in Livestock-keeping

In all three Wards numbers of villagers own livestock, and in Madunga Ward in particular, livestock, not agriculture is often the primary source of income. While the labour involved in livestock-raising is less intensive it does involve a steady amount of attention throughout the year.

Interviewees in all three villages in Madunga Ward (both men and women) indicated the following division of labour:

Livestock Keeping (Cattle):

T A S K	PERFORMED BY
Buying beasts	Men
First herding (morning) (2-3 hours)	Boys (small)
Afternoon Herding and taking animals to water (4 - 5 hours)	Men (sometimes women children help)
Milking (1 hour)	Woman/Man
Supervising calves getting milk (½ hour)	Woman
Kraaling in House (½ hour)	Women
Clearing house of manure (morning) (½ hr.)	Women
Drying manure	Women
Taking manure to shamba (3/4 hour)	Women
Putting manure back in house (½ hr.)	Women
Watching over calves in day	Women
Dipping	Men
Veterinary Care	Men
Selection for sale	Men
Sale	Men
Husbandry (supervising, mating, calving dehorning, etc)	Men
Collecting fodder for calves (1' hour)	Women

A similar division of labour exists in Gallapo Ward, with the exception that women do little herding, and do not collect fodder for the calves which are herded to graze from young age. Women do sometimes take the cattle to water, a time-consuming task in Gallapo Ward, and frequently kraal the beasts at night, prior to milking, usually their responsibility.[1]

Once again the pattern that emerges in livestock-keeping is that women are providing a good share of the routinelabour in this area of production.

Pig-Raising

Pig-raising is not widely practised in any of the three Wards. Even in Madunga Ward a small proprtion of households raise pigs. There however the division of labour is similar to that of cattle; men do the buying and selling of beasts (and the slaughtering), whilst women do the more routine and time-consuming daily feeding, watering and care of sties. This work is quite intensive. If feed is not purchased it has to be cut and brought to the house. Pigs have to be "protected from sunburn", rotated around posts or have their sties cleaned daily. Even pig-feed purchased from NMC must be cooked. The continual labour required is one reason why non-Muslim families do not keep pigs.

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1. With the exception of the Warangi tribe where men always do the milking.

Division of Labour in Other Productive Activities:

Village Shambas

Seven of the ten villages studied have Village Shambas, with acreages varying from five to 60 acres.

VILLAGE	ACRES	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS (1979/80)
Gallapo	38	1,386
Majengo	0	0
Halla	22	491 (men only)
Ayamango	60	670
Utwari	0	C
Madunga Kati	0	0
Qameyu	5	(1 acre per sub-village)
Magugu	50 (?)	
Mapea	45	
Gichamada	14	

In all cases except Halla where only men work on the village shamba men and women were said to work "equally" with men. The village Chairmen is usually responsible for calling Wananchi to participate and keeping a record of who does so. In both Gallapo and Magugu Wards Katibu Katas indicated that women are usually more active participants than men, as is the case with all village self-help activities.

Although care is taken to see that men and women do 'equal' labour on the Village Shamba the tasks are not always performed together, nor 'equal' in nature. The division of labour practised on home shambas is carried over; thus men tend to do the ploughing, women the planting and weeding and so on.

Harvesting is usually carried out together however, except in Magugu Ward where only women do this task.

Village shops

Nine of the ten villages (i.e. all except Halla) have established Village Shops, selling consumer goods. In all instances "households" rather than individuals contributed the original capital, so it is not known how far women were involved in setting up the facilities. Women contributed labour in the shop's construction on much the same terms as they normally contribute labour in building : i.e. carrying water for brick-making, plastering walls and making the floor.

In only one of the nine shops is a woman a member of the Shop Management Committee (Utwari). Only one private shop in the ten villages is owned and managed by a woman (Gallapo).

Productive Activities Involving Women Only

Women in all three Wards are involved in 'petty' production which earns them a limited independent income. The most wide-spread production is beer-making, from which a woman may earn 100/= a time. Few women brew beer more than three or four times a year. Certain pressures apparently exist to prevent any one woman from 'taking over the market'.

A more stablesource of income is derived from the production of handicrafts. Large numbers of women in both Madunga and Magugu produce mats and baskets for sale using local materials. Although of widely differing design and quality all mats and baskets are utility items, which have been produced and used by women for numbers of generations. In Madunga Ward it is estimated that some 500 women regularly produce either mats or baskets for eight months of the year. The average income calculated for this activity is in the region of 120/= per month. In most cases no cash is actually exchanged: women exchange a basket, for example for the amount of millet or maize it takes to fill the basket. Marketing is strictly local, although in the case of mats at least middlemen are emerging. Despite the seemingly high income derived from mat-work it should be noted that in both Madunga and Magugu Wards the value of the labour involved amounts to 1/- or less per hour.

In Magugu Ward the mats and baskets produced are less expensive, of lower quality, and not as time-consuming to produce.

Mat and basket work is less frequently practised by women in Gallapo Ward because of the shortage of materials (palms or reeds). However there clay pot-makers are found, albeit in limited numbers. Some women earn a small income from producing cloth items such as Muslim hats, embroidered table-cloths, etc. Others earn a few shillings every day from selling milk and ghee. Some others (especially from Halla village) produce and sell vegetables in the Gallapo market.

In addition a large number of village women earn small sums of money by selling kunde beans, cabbages and pumkins which they grow on a small portion of the family shamba. However not all women have access to the shamba for this purpose: "It depends on the boss, whether he will let the women grow those things or not" (Village Chairman Ayamango). Certainly income from 'house gardens' as they are know is notably less than in other parts of Tanzania, if the case studies of other Regions are an indication (e.g. Swantz, 1976). So also income earned from growing and selling bananas is necessarily limited by climate. Only in some parts of both Magugu and Gallapo Wards is this a source of income, sometimes up to 500/- per month. As elsewhere in Tanzania bananas are a "women's crop" traditionally cared for. by women, and for which they retain all income.

A range of other minor productive activities are practised in the three Wards visited, including cake-making, cloth-selling, and the selling of bundles of firewood.

Although some women may earn up to 2,500/- or more a year in these activities, as indicated already, the value is often in kind, and even if cash is received these funds invariably go towards the maintenance of the household. This is so to such an extent that several women expressed reluctance to earn 'too much money'. "Then my husband will not give me any money at all. He will say I am now earning money and will keep all his money for pombe."

Despite such comments the desire to increase opportunities in such 'women's production', where men play no role, is pervasive.

4. Decision-Making in Village Productive Activities

Obviously decision-making in those activities last described, where women alone participate, is in the hands of the producers themselves. Pressure to produce more may be exerted by male members of the household but the final decision rests with the woman as to how much she produces and when. Women also tend to sell their own products. Most importantly of all, the female producers have completed control over how the income earned will be spent.

The decision-making role of women in both village Shamba and Shop community activities is small, if they have a role at all. The village Council determines how many acres will be ploughed in a year, what shall be grown and the timetable of participation. The Village Council also decides how the income will be spent.

There being no female members on Village Shop Committees (with one exception), the decision-making role of women is again very weak in this area. Women villagers do exert pressure upon Village Councils from time to time to purchase items they require, but these are basic goods which most Village Shops would indeed sell if they could acquire them in the first place (e.g. kanga).

Agriculture

The most critical area of decision-making is of course associated with those productive activities which provide the bulk of villagers' income i.e. agriculture and livestock.

It is in these areas that the decision-making role of women is weakest in relation to their labour input.

As Fortmann points out (1977:8) there are in Tanzania a range of agrcultural decisions which are beyond the control of either men or women in the village. Such decisions concern the price of both crops and beasts (the official prices at least), the availability of inputs (insecticides, fertilizers, fuel for tractors etc.) and the policies of land-holding which

discourage, if not always disallow, the accumulation of land in the hands of one household. There is in addition a degree of national or regional control over what crops may be produced, where, although in practice the study found such decisions have their origin in the village in the first place (farmers make suggestions as to what they will plant and these are eventually handed back to the village as production guidelines). The bulk of ... agriculture decision-making still takes place at the village level. Once again the role of the Village Council is important, if varying in power from one village to the next. In the high-production Gallapo village the Chairman stated :

"It is the Village Council which decides when people shall start planting. We talk to the Bwana shamba and make decision. Then we call a meeting and tell the people. If a woman finds her husband is not working properly she can report him to the Village Council and he can be punished.. the men can report the women too, but we only have trouble with men forgetting to plough because of pombe... We also set targets of what we shall produce each year and what each household must grow; usually it is the same as last year. We do not punish people for not growing what we say."

The Village Council also exercises control over the marketing of crops in those places where it acts as a buying agent for the National Milling Corporation (NMC). The cess or tax on crops produced is set by the Council in conjunction with NMC and the use of those funds determined by it. As ... has been indicated already the mechanisms for consulting their electorate, the villagers, are not always wellused, and some villagers are not consulted on the use of funds.

There are additional factors which are beyond the immediate control of the farmers themselves, be they men or women. The availability of tractors, the price of hire (unofficial) and thus the time of planting and the number of acres ploughed are decisions at least partly in the hands of a minority of villagers (owners of ex-ploughs and tractors). Otherwise, farmers make the following decisions;

- When to plough excluding other factors;
- how many acres to plough;
- what to plant,
- spacing of seeds;
- when to weed;
- whether to weed once or twice in a season;
- whether to use manure and/or fertilizer;
- when to seek advice from the Bwana Shamba;
- when to harvest;
- when to sell;
- and in relation to all of the above, decisions as to who will provide the labour for implementing them.

In all ten villages, interviewees, both men and women, indicated, with varying degrees of emphasis, that the decisions above are made together by both male and female members of the household, although as many added, "the man's say is final" . Not a single female respondent indicated that she had absolutely no influence or role in decision-making concerning the farm. Most of the tasks above are discussed prior to action and it is difficult for participants in those discussions (let alone the study) to determine exactly who made the decision. In any event, as so many writers on the subject have pointed out, in practice if not by design women tend to take a decision-making role by virtue of the fact that they so often do the work.

Implicit or explicit, women farmers do seem to have a role in agricultural decision-making. The provision that the man's say is final, should be borne in mind however.

The issue of female-headed households needs elaboration here. In theory the farming of such households must be entirely at the control of women, and many writers categorically state that this is the case.

The findings of this study indicate that this is not entirely so (although the limited nature of the study means that its findings should be viewed with caution).

Village Councils do not keep records of female-headed households in their villages and the following figures were derived from discussion with Village Chairmen and Council members who methodically tried to recall how many single women, divorcees, widows and wives with permanently absent husbands lived in the village. The number of husbands away for long periods is also indicated.

FEMALE - HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

Ward	Village	Total FHH*	% Total HH	HH where Male Usually Absent**	% Total HH
Madunga	Utwari	29	7%	10	4%
Madunga	Qameyu	20	4%	10	2%
Madunga	Madunga Kati	21	11%	10	4%
Gallapo	Ayamango	30	7%	20	5%
Gallapo	Gallapo	20	3%	20	3%
Gallapo	Halla	16	7%	4	2%
Gallapo	Majengo	50	17%	ND	-
Magugu	Mapea	26	12%	10	2%
Magugu	Magugu	ND	-	ND	-
Magugu	Gichameda	4	3%	15	10%
Average:		24	7%	12	4%

* FHH - Female Headed Household; i.e. widows, divorcees, single women.

** Often Absent - i.e. wives of scattered polygamous marriages, husband working far outside village, absent training etc.

It should be noted that these figures are much lower than the average proportion of female headed households for the entire country which falls within the 20 - 25% category.[1] It is not clear whether the difference is the result of the doubtful method used to calculate proportion of female headed households (recall), or because villages in the studied areas are more stable than elsewhere in the country, where urban and peri-urban factors might exacarbate the problem.

In any event the issue that concerns us here is not so much the proportion of female-headed households as the degree to which these households heads do in fact make all the farming-related decisions.

Interviews with female heads of households and with other members of the community indicated that although a female head may do all the labour on her farm, and has the final say on whether she actually plants or not in a given year, she is far from immune from pressure from male members of the extended family. In all three Wards women commented that they usually seek advice from such a male member, or even from a male neighbour.

In many instances these men purchase the seed for the woman and help her organise a work party to hoe (Madunga) or the hire of an ox-plough or tractor (Magugu, Gallapo). If inputs are needed, such as insecticides for army worm, stalkborer etc, the women will usually go to this male neighbour or relative, asking him to buy the necessary item for her (Gallapo). The Bwana shamba in Gallapo confirmed that although there are many women farmers in the area responsible for their own farms, he very seldom receives visits or requests from individual women.

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1. Source: ICRW, April, 1980. For comparison with other countries - e.g. Jamaica - 33%
   Carribean as a whole - 35%
   Botswana - 42%
   Indonesia - 23%
   Iran - 15%
   Kenya - 10%

Thus it appears that while it is true that female heads of households have final decision-making power, it is also true that dependency upon male farmers to help make those decisions, persists.

This is even more so the case when husbands or fathers are temporarily absent. Often women of these households will wait until the expected return at the ploughing season before taking action, such as hoeing or seeking the hire of a tractor. In other instances they write to the husband asking him what he wants them to do that year. Again, the final authority of the male in decision-making on the farm is implicit. Women in these circumstances in all three Wards emphasised this by saying that they can easily be chastised if the man, on his return, finds their work unsatisfactory.

Livestock

As pointed out in at least one of the areas studied livestock-raising provides a major source of villagers income (Madunga). It is important to know therefore at which point women make decisions concerning livestock, if at all.

In Madunga Ward women said that they have more control over sheep and goats than over livestock. They may even suggest to their husbands when to sell or slaughter a goat (sic). Some men interviewed in the Ward said that they have 'little interest' in goats and sheep, that they are 'for the women'. Nonetheless they usually own the animals and the income derived from them.

Cattle are by far the most significant livestock asset in the Ward. The decision-making role of women in their regard is significantly less than their role in agriculture, and the ambiguity of statements "we both decide... but my husband decides most" was not evident. Women, and men, spoke plainly to the effect that livestock is the business of men, and men make any decisions that are required.

These may concern routine decisions such as where cattle should be grazed on the following day, when cattle should be dipped, or less frequent decisions concerning the purchase and sale of beasts, their innoculation, husbanding etc. The fact that women provide a good share of the labour in livestock-raising does not affect their passive role in decision-making. Although they carry out many of the routine tasks including milking (in most cases), caring for calves, and often kraaling, women reported that if they wanted to alter any of these practices such as keeping the animals outside the house (Madunga) or clearing out manure in the kraal (Gallapo) they would first consult their husbands. Certainly no woman would think of acquiring a beast or selling another without consulting the male in the family.

The decision-making power of female headed households in this regard does not arise as an issue or exception to the rule. Women do not normally inherit livestock in any of the areas visited.[1] If a husband dies leaving a herd this will almost always be taken over by an uncle or other male relative, and only returned to the male children when they are of age. It is true that women more frequently inherit, or in rare cases, even purchase, smallstock (goats, sheep) but for all intents and purposes decision-making concerning these are still made by male members of the household or extended family. Perhaps the most telling evidence of women's lack of authority over livestock is the fact that although they may receive cattle as a bride-price, these animals go directly to the woman's father, and remain there. Upon his death they too will be inherited, not by the woman, but by the woman's brothers.

Decision-making in the day to day practice of both agriculture and livestock-keeping is an important issue, useful amongst other things in determining the optimal design of extension programmes. The dynamics of the division of labour is similarly relevant.

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1. In the rare cases where she does the number is usually small, much less than the number of beasts inherited by her brothers.

There remains however one area of decision-making and control in these two major productive activities which is even more critical; critical in the sense that it partly determines the overall decision-making roles of men and women in the village. Concommitently it is a critical factor in maintaining or changing the status of women as respected producers and villagers. The issue at hand simply concerns authority over the income derived from these two predominant economic pursuits.

Control of the Fruits of Labour

It has been shown that women in the ten villages studied (and by inference more widely in the Region and country), contribute a sizeable proportion of labour in the productive activities which sustain villagers in general. It has also been shown that in agriculture at least women, often by default, are active if secondary decision-makers. Their contribution to production in villages, their productive capability and their productive potential cannot be doubted.

Nonetheless these producers have little authority over the fruits of their labour.

In all ten villages women and men were explicit that the income generated from the sale of crops and livestock belongs to the men. Of course fathers and husbands will see that their wives and children are provided for. Very often as soon as sales have been made and money secured the husband will give the wife a portion to spend at once on household needs. He will often as not, the study was told, bring the wife a new kanga (cloth) for herself. Sometimes the husband and wife will jointly decide how much money is required to maintain the household (new pots, clothes for children, etc). The remaining funds are taken by the husband, deposited in the bank, for his own use and the household's use over the coming year. Funds for seeds and hiring a tractor the following season will derive from that source. So also will the costs the husband incurs throughout the year in travelling, drinking pombe etc.

In Magugu Ward in particular interviewees said that a husband will usually give his wife all monies for safe-keeping. As he needs it he will ask her. However the money belongs strictly to the husband and his decision on what it is spent, implicit. Women may beg, cajole, and persuade their husbands for money for one thing or another, but the latter's say is final.

There is no doubt that woman 'benefit' from the income derived from activities they share in. But also there is no doubt that they do not own the fruits of their labour, thus depending upon their husbands for those benefits.

Not surprisingly this situation is a source of conflict between village men and women, and the number of comments made by women in this regard led the study to conclude that the economic dependence of women farmers on men farmers is not only the outstanding concern of the former but the critical factor in their continuing low status. Furthermore, and of particular relevance to this study, it is both the chief incentive and impediment to the development of their productivity.

The desire for an independent income is without doubt the key incentive in the widespread practice of handicrafts and other minor production by women in the three Wards visited, and accounts for their enthusiasm to see opportunities for these activities expanded.

Again, it is economic independence which spurs women on in group activities, joining such groups in the first place, and perservaring with them despite the many problems encountered.

By the same token, the fact that women do not control the fruits of their labour in the major productive activities of agriculture and livestock-keeping, acts as a disincentive to their interest in expanded, or improved production. Quite simply, the larger and more complex the farming activity, the greater the burden of their labour without a proportionate increase in authority.

The strength of this disincentive is of course reinforced by the knowledge that they, along with other members of the household, will benefit from the labour. In this way village women are caught up in the catch - 22 of all dependent relationships; the 'benefits' are enough to give pause to moves towards independence, but without independence the value of the 'benefits' is circumscribed.

The comments of women interviewed touched upon this conflict repeatedly : they greatly desire independent sources of income but are nervous at the same time of losing the economic support of their husbands.

It is the status of rural women as dependants which more than anything else contradicts their legal equality with rural men, makes nonsense of claims of their equality with men in farming and defeats moves to develop their productive capability.

Ownerhsip of Resources

The origins of this situation in which women farmers have secondary status, often not much more than glorified labourers in production, is simply the fact that farm and livestock are owned by men. It is true that shambas are nowadays referred to as "belonging to the household". However these plots are registered in the name of men, and in the event of a conflict of interests of any kind the field is recognised as belonging to the man. Further the traditional means of inheritance in which land is passed from father to son only is still an accepted and acceptable practice in modern villages. Some rural women do own land in their own right, but where this is the case one of other of the following factors is at play:

- the woman has inherited the plot on her husbands death;
- the woman is a member of a polygamous marriage and her husband has given her a plot of her own to sustain herself and his children;
- the woman is divorced and her husband has left the village to live with another wife, leaving the plot for the use of his first wife.
- the woman has inherited her father's plot as the only surviving child;

In two of the four cases the plot is still 'owned' in law by the husband. In all four instances the plot will go back into the hands of males on the death of the woman.

Instances of shambas owned and managed under one or other of these circumstances are not rare. In one village (Majengo) it was claimed that around 50 such plots exist.[1]

What is more significant is the absence in any of the ten villages studied of plots which were acquired by women in their own right. Not a single shamba exists in these villages where a single woman or a still-married woman has applied to the Council for a plot of her own. In those few instances where single women hold plots they have inherited these from their fathers in circumstances described above. If a married woman inherits a plot for the same reason (i.e. no male relatives to inherit it) she will not farm it as long as she is with her husband. Her duty is to plough his field, not a potential one of her own.

Since villagalization it has been legally possible for any village woman over the age of 18 years to apply to the Council for a plot of land. In none of the ten villages visited had any women done this. Only young men have applied, or older men seeking an extension to their plot. Meanwhile young woman work on their father's farm until

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1. Although there was some evidence to suggest that plots farmed by woman because their husbands were 'absent' were included in this number.

the time when they marry and go and work on their husbands farm. If they do not marry they continue to work on their father's farm.

Although Village Chairmen concede the right of women to apply as individuals, without exception they noted that such an application would be unfavourably viewed if the woman had access to a household shamba; i.e. her husband's. Their reasoning on the surface was fair: as long as land is short villages can't afford two members of a household owning plots. However councillors agreed that men do apply for and receive extensions or additional plots, in some instances involving quite large areas of land (Gallapo). It would seem that currently the best chance a woman, married or single, has of acquiring access to a plot of her own is to get her father or husband to apply for such an extension to his own allocation. Still, the land will in law remain in his name.

The importance of the original design for Ujamaa Villages may be seen in this light. As already described the intention was that both man and women should register as members of the co-operative independently. Work points on communal land and/or individual allocations would be made individually, no matter what the marital status of the individual. If this design had come to pass the status of rural woman in Tanzania today would be radically improved. As the stituation stands, village women remain tied in a traditionally inegalitarian system of land tenure.

The dispossessing circumstances of village women do not end with land tenure, although it may be perceived as the critical resource. The study was surprised to find that even the house, the family home 'belongs to the man'. In the event of divorce the woman may be sent home to her father or elsewhere. In practice widows usually keep on in the house after their husband's death, but it is not rare for the husband's family to take over the house. There appear to be no legal guarantees against this. The Marriages Act of the early seventies confirmed the right of women to retain all goods acquired by them since marriage but fixed property was not covered in the Act.

Although many assets may be purchased as a result of the woman's labour as well as the man's these items are al most always viewed as the property of the latter. Thus it is not surprising to find in the ten villages covered that not a single ox-plough, tractor, or cart is owned by a woman.

It has already been noted that livestock very rarely are owned by woman, with the exception of some small stock. The traditions seem to die harder in this area as both men and women interviewed often laughed at the concept of women owning livestock. Men said "If women owned cattle there would be corruption". Asked to explain one man said: "If women owned cattle they could sell them without asking us. We would no longer be rulers of our women".

VI. A STRATEGY TO SIGNIFICANTLY AND EQUITABLY INVOLVE VILLAGE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT AND IN PARTICULAR TO PROMOTE THEIR PRODUCTIVE CAPABILITY

The ultimate purpose of this study, it will be recalled, was to acquire enough understanding of the role of women in villages to propose a strategy whereby APVDP (and by implication, the Region) may involve women more effectively in development action especially as related to productive activities.

The preceeding chapters have identified a wide range of factors currently constraining their involvement, and before detailing a strategy the more important of these are summarised.

1. Key Constraints

A. Village women do not have adequate control over either the means of their production (land, livestock, implements, etc.), or the fruits of their productive labour (income).

B. General development programmes fail to address this problem either out of ignorance of the fact, a preference for the status quo or a reluctance to tackle the status quo.

C. Development programmes orientated directly to women (Women's Development) restrict their active concern to the needs of women as home-makers and child-bearers. This reinforces traditional factors under-mining the economic productive role of rural women. Only indirectly and often incidentally is the problem of their productive status affected by Women's Development, through the pr promotion of opportunities for alternative sources of income.

D. As a result of their lack of equal control or ownership, village women have remained essentially dependent upon men for their livelihood and the livelihood of their children. As dependents, their status as villagers, decision-makers and producers is secondary

E. The current decision-making processes operating in the village (the

representation of women in village government, etc) accurately reflect the reality of their secondary role. Women, as farmers or otherwise are thus difficult to reach through the normal channels. Development action for villages tends to by-pass them.

F. There is evidence to suggest that village men do not effectively represent the interests or needs of village women (any more so than wealthy villagers represent the interests of poor villagers). Althogh this may be viewed as a truism, the perception of village councillors (mostly male) as representing all villagers persists to an extent that no rules or even guidelines exist to ensure women are proportionately represented electorally.

G. The secondary role of rural women in decision-making processes as they affect both village government and production is self-reinforcing. Women have less experience and confidence in decision-making, planning, organization and management than men. This engenders a sense of inferiority amongst women which in turn inhibits their equal involvement in these processes.

H. As is typical with socio-economic dependence generally, women are themselves ambivalent about changing the status quo. They desire economic independence and equality yet 'fear" the implications. They are concerned that once they have means, men will foist the entire burden of maintaining the household upon them. This anxiety contributes subtlely but effectively to the maintenance of the status quo.

I. Development changes since Independence have had little impact upon the real status of rural women. In many instances the introduction of facilities, services, opportunities and labour-saving devices has merely given women more time to provide labour on the farm, or a greater necessity to do so. For example the provision

of primary education has greatly reduced the role of children in farm-related activities (herding, weeding, harvesting, etc). The increase in travel, employment opportunities and urbanization has increased male absenteism from the farm.

Development has thus seldom led to the more equal sharing of labour between men and women on the farm. On the contrary the proportion of female labour input has increased, but without a concommitent increase in share of ownership or authority over their labour.

J. Women's groups, UWT's in particular, have played an important role in mobilizing women, especially in assisting them to work together to achieve changes which interest them. The potential of these groups is inhibited however by the lack of effective support; no effective guidance has been given in leadership, organization, management or accounting skills, and capital loans are not forthcoming. The self-help efforts of village women thus often fail, leading to distrust and a degree of disenchantment. The incentive to work together inincome-generating projects is adequately great however to have not significantly reduced interest in maintaining women's groups.

Meanwhile the role of UWT's as politicising entities has not been developed.

2. A Strategy to Effectively Reach Women

Many of the findings and constraints to women's development indicated above are essentially political in nature, in the sense that they require politicisation of women in particular in order for there to be significant changes in their status as villagers, or as producers.

It is the opinion of this study that a large factor in the failure of current and past women's development programmes to be genuinely effective has been an inherent reluctance to politicise women, to "upset" the status quo. No matter how radical a society this reluctance will receive endorsement from usually male-dominated administrations. In these circumstances it is no wonder that women's development has kept to areas where work with women may be 'safely' pursued; more often than not, home and child-care related activities. The influence of colonial, and more recently foreign aid programmes in endorsing and perpetuating these inclinations should not be under-estimated. Even a reading of that United Nations guidelines on women's development reveal the same anxiety to not let women's development cause 'problems' after describing accurately the circumstances of many women in the developing world, the U.N. quickly advises

> "...the remedy for this kind of situation need not involve confrontation with men... what is most urgently needed is the infusion of appropriate assistance and stimuli to self-help so as to enable women <u>simultaneously</u> to perform their traditional household chores... and to increase their ability to participate actively and productively in the market economy. (UNDP Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development G. 3100-1, 1977: 102/2 My emphasis).

In short this advises women not to attempt to see household chores more equitably shared with men, a need which this study has found to be a pre-requisite to any radical improvement in the productive capability and effectiveness of women. Try as they may, women do not, nor ever will, have the time to be both effective, home and child-carers and <u>equally</u> effective as <u>progressive</u> producers as men unless routine tasks are more equitably shared.

Two other critical prerequisites have been singled out by this study, prerequisite to both the improved productive capability of women, and to their improved status. Women must have a greater share of ownership and rights over the means of production, the farm, the tools, the livestock, and they must have a greater share in the ownership of the income from their own labour.

Without attention to these three key issues, programmes of women's development have been essentially ineffective in altering the status of rural women, and against their own intentions, end up representing minor and tokenist development.

So also will the APVDP programmes' efforts to involve women be essentially token unless these issues are addressed.

Thus, as difficult as it may be, and as reluctant as the Project may be to enter into the politics of women's development, attention to the issues of labour-sharing, land-sharing, and income-sharing must be integral to any effective strategy the APVDP wishes to adopt.

A. Tackling the Issues of Labour, Land and Income Sharing

To tackle these issues is indeed difficult for the APVDP as a forreign-funded and implemented initiative. As with all elements of its programme the APVDP cannot be effective in isolation and was not intended to be. The need for APVDP to operate through existing government (and party) channels is especially well-illustrated in this case however. The APVDP itself will find it difficult to have an impact on current land-sharing, labour-sharing and income -sharing practices. It may however be influential in encouraging regional institutions to promote action in these areas.

(i) The first step in this is simply to bring the issues to the attention of government and party officials

At the Regional level these issues should be introduced to the Regional Planning Committee and the members encouraged to make a

Commitment to tackle them as essential elements of the long-term strategy (1981 - 2000) currently in preparation.
The same process should take place at the District level. Although the basic strategy for the next twenty years has been prepared by each District, these documents are not static, requiring modification and addition from time to time. The assistance being given by the APVDP in promoting planning, and planning capability, should include drawing the attention of District Planning Teams to these critical issues. Both at the Regional and District level Planning Teams comprise both government and party officials.

Considering the essentially political nature of these issues, Party officials at all levels (region, district, division, ward and village) should in particular be made aware of these issues. The involvement of the UWT is especially critical. The study found UWT officials well aware of the difficulties of rural women but not always conceptually clear on the origins of these difficulties. It is recommended that the findings of this study be made available to all Regional and District UWT officials and a seminar organised to discuss the implications for the UWT efforts. Such a seminar could be integral to a more general programme of assistance for the UWT suggested later.

(ii) <u>The second imprtant step that needs to be taken to promote an improvement in labour, land and income sharing practices, is for both government and party in the Region to formulate a plan of action to effect their concern in this area.</u>

This plan will necessarily comprise steps to politicise both village government and villagers on these issues.

Villages should also be encouraged and helped to take concrete steps to ameliorate the problems, such as registering land allocations in the name of both husband and wife; re-adjusting their own points system on communal labour contributions on the basis of number of hours laboured, not tasks;[1] making use of the wide powers available to village governments to discipline villagers to encourage house-labour and income-sharing practices,[2] and making sure Savings & Credit Schemes, loans, etc are extended to women in the village.

(iii) Thirdly, politicization inthese issues should be designed not only to modify practices but to promote amendments to the law to give formal protection to women on these issues.

As far as this study is aware Tanzanian rural women only have legal protection to the extent of allowing them to inherit or own items they brought into the marriage bond and those they have acquired within it. This means there is no legal obligation for shambas, livestock or even the family home to be passed on or shared with the wife. This is despite the fact that the wife normally contributed equal (and often more) labour to the acquisition or maintenance of those assets, regarded automatically however as owned by the male head of household.

B. Making A Commitment to Women's Development

Implicit in the action specified above is the need for the Region to make a much more explicit commitment to the development of women in the Region. Already the current reluctance of senior officials

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1. Work points are usually given on the basis of tasks performed. This favours men in that their tasks are less time-consuming than those typically carried out by women.

2. In some villages women are able to bring complaints against their husbands if they fail to help in the shamba. There is no reason why this could not be extended to husbands who fail to contribute to household chores.

to do this has been mentioned. This study has identified . two reasons for this reluctance; firstly an unwillingness to tackle issues of women's development which go beyond improving their role as home-makers and child-bearers and carers; secondly an assumption that general technical development programmes are reaching women along with other members of the community. To these may be added a third reason, integral to those above, to the effect that administrators consistently exhibit a wariness of any programmes which focus on a sub-group, a minority, etc.

It is the conclusion of this study that without making a specific and explicit, commitment to tackle the critical issues of women's development, the Region cannot realistically expect to see significant changes in the status of its women. For reasons given earlier 'general' development programmes have not, and still are not directly reaching women. Also as explained earlier the existing programme of women's development does not touch the issues considered critical to the genuine development of rural women in this Region.

Making a special commitment and designing a plan of action does not however mean establishing a programme of seperate development in which all action relating to women is effected under one programme only, and in which policies incongruous to those applicable to the rest of the population are pursued.

Unlike seperate development a focused commitment is designed to bring groups of people into the mainstream of development, not to effectively exclude them from it.

One the tasks of a focused plan of action must thus be to assist general and sector programmes to make sure that they do reach women in the villages.

What is being advocated here is a more explicit and firm commitment for women's development than the Region has yet given, and one that tackles the issues that have been singled out here as of major concern.

C. The Formulation of a Broader Women's Development Programme

Women's programmes already exist. In the Party this is spearheaded by the UWT, in government by Ujamaa na Ushirika's Home Economics Division.

It is not suggested that a third distinct programme be established. Rather, that the capabilities of these existing institutional frameworks be utilized, developed and expanded to take on the responsibilities being discussed in this chapter, and to be more effective in implementing them.

Some fairly harsh comments were made early in this report on the current orientation of existing women's programmes towards home economics. It has even been stated that this orientation works against the development of rural women in the sense that it reinforces traditional assumptions that the only significant role of rural women is in the home, denigrating the real value and realities of peasant women as producers.

It has not been the intention of this report to either demean the home and child-care role of women, nor to undermine the efforts being made by government in this area. Home and child-care improvements are critical elements in any comprehensive development plan, and they are issues which certainly concern women. The value of action in these fields was particularly evident to this study in Madunga Ward where poor hygiene for example is a major impediment to the development of its villagers. Not only is infant mortality allegedly higher than usual, but ill health and lost productive days plague men, women and children.

Even in the two other supposedly more progressive wards the time lost by women in caring for sick members of the family is extraordinarily high (an average of ten days a month).

The study is concerned however about two aspects of this orientation. Firstly, that it is directed entirely to village women thus consolidating the tradition that home -care and child-care are not issues rural men should concern themselves with. Secondly, and more critically, that woman's programmes have in effect if not intention limited their concern to these areas. The critical areas into which women's development must expand have already been identified; viz;

- the promotion of more equitable ownership between men and women farmers of the means of production in villages (land, livestock, implements);
- the promotion of more equitable rights between men and women to the fruits of labour (income);
- the promotion of more equitable labour-sharing of house and child-care duties between men and women (taking maize to mills, children to clinic, collecting firewood, water, milking etc);
- the mobilization and assistance of sectoral programmes to expand or reorientate their activities to ensure that village women are reached as directly as men (not only extension advice but training opportunites, access to inputs, savings and credit schemes, loan opportunities, etc);

To these may be added :-

- the more effective promotion of income-generating activities for village women; not as an alternative to their seeking and receiving their rightful income from major productive activities, but in addition to it;
- the mobilization of more effective women's groups (UWT's) in villages in terms of their Leadership, management and organization; attention must be paid in particular to developing village women's accounting capabilities;
- the promotion of labour-saving technological innovations as well as basic services in villages to allow both men and women more productive time.

D. Developing the Capability of Women's Development Institutions

In order to effectively implement the expanded initiative recommended above both government and party's women's development institutions will need assistance and support.

Firstly both the Ujamaa Women's division and the UWT at regional and district levels require guidance and assistance to formulate a plan of action embracing the broadened programme. The study found basic planning skills at the district level in particular especially weak.

Secondly personnel of both UWT and Ujamaa who are working with women require training in basic project identification, fomulation, analysis and feasibility, organization and management .

UCDA's working with women and in particular UWT personnel in the District are particularly ill-equipped in these tasks. Most simply do not know how to proceed once a project has been suggested by a women's group. Many projects are begun without any planning at all, and collapse through inadequate funding, poor management, and infeasibility in the first place.

Thirdly, both the Ujamaa women's division and UWT require much more organizational, logistrical and financial support than either currently receive. The UWT at both regional and district level is particularly under-supported. Permanent secretarial posts need establishing, (UWT Secretaries) and training to carry out efficient management of the organization. Once they have formulated careful plans of action they will be in a stronger position to seek funds, logisticial support (transport), and manpower.

E. Supporting Village Women's Groups More Effectively :

This study has outlined the problems faced by women's groups (usually UWT's) in villages. Village women have difficulty in the first place establishing groups, as a result of not knowing how to go about it, a reluctance for potential leaders to identify themselves, and traditions which surprisingly, have not encouraged women to work together to any significant degree.

The study found however that without effective organization into groups village women will continue to find it difficult to tackle problems of common interest or to improve their status generally in the village, including their representation in decision-making processes. The process of working together is itself a critical exercise in politicization and solidarity, giving women the confidence to take constructive action. This finding has been substantiated by evaluation of women's projects elsewhere (USAID, May, 1980: 45). Such a strategy does not exclude efforts to involve village women in more general development efforts. Rather it lends support to that process giving village women experience they will not otherwise receive. Most problems faced by women's groups arise in relation to management. Pressures from Party and village leaders promote groups of very large numbers making management and consensus difficult. Financial management is particularly poor, and the accounting procedures of women's groups minimal. As has been detailed elsewhere most depend upon Village Secretaries to maintain some semblance of order in their accounts. Group leaders are untrained and often flounder in the face of organizing action projects. The absence of effective guidance in management matters from UWT or UCDA's exacerbate the problems of village groups.

The existing Ujamaa Women's Programme outlined in the first chapter of this report, already identifies the need to train women village leaders. Shortage of funds has prevented implementation. Not only must this element of the Women's programme remain, but a programme of village leader training in group, project, and financial management must be adequately well-documented and prepared to attract funding and support.

3. The Role of APVDP in Promoting Women's Development

Finally the role of APVDP in promoting "the significant and equitable role of women in development "needs some further definition, and summation.

1. It has already been suggested that APVDP may play a catalytic role in bringing the critical issues of women's development to the attention of government and party institutions, with a view to securing their explicit commitment to act upon these.

2. It is also implicit in the preceeding discussion that the APVDP work primarily through the existing institutional frameworks of the Ujamaa Women's programme and UWT to effect its own commitment to see women significantly and equitably involved. In the course of implementing its own village development programme, action also needs to be taken, as described shortly.

3. APVDP's efforts in working through the existing Ujamaa and UWT programmes should focus on developing the capability of those two programmes to be effective. Providing training to personnel at both regional but more particularly district level should comprise the most critical element of this assistance; training in planning and project identification and management capability in particular.

   The APVDP should assist regional and district UWT/Ujamaa personnel to formulate realistic Action Plans for the next five years.

   The APVDP should also be prepared to commit resources to initiatives and projects arising out of these Plans, especially those which directly tackle areas of prime concern identified by this study.

4. In addition the APVDP should work closely with key productive sectors, livestock, agriculture and small industries, to encourage and assist them to expand their village programmes to directly reach women (along with men). This initiative should be carefully co-ordinated with the Ujamaa Programme.

The APVDP should be prepared to commit resources to successfully implement these improved programmes (e.g. women's farmers groups, the extension of savings and credit to women farmers, the training and fielding of female extension agents, the promotion of craft marketing facilities, etc).

5. The APVDP should take constructive action to improve its own capacity to reach and involve village women in the implementation of its operational village level programme. The intention is that APVDP should involve women through both the strategy of ensuring they are more effectively involved in general decision-making processes related to project development, and through their mobilization and involvements in women's groups. As described in chapter IV this dual strategy is considered necessary.

The following steps are suggested :

- District officials primarily concerned with the APVDP programme but more especially Village Councils in the twelve APVDP pilot wards should be directly and explicity informed of the emphasis the Project puts on involving women villagers equally with men in its programme. To date few Village Councils are even aware of this feature or commitment of the APVDP.

- Village Councils should be informed that project proposals which will directly benefit women villagers will have the highest funding priority;

- Village councils should be informed that where proposals are made which do concern women in any way, that a representative proportion of women must be included in the planning process from the outset. Where woman are not equally represented on the Council (in the majority and probably all cases) additional women must be co-opted temporarily to the Council for that purpose. Where UWT have been formed the UWT Committee should be utilised for this purpose.

- Village Councils should be informed that any project proposals which relate in any way to women which have not been formulated in conjunction with representative women will be unacceptable to APVDP;

- The endorsement of Village Assemblies for all project proposals should be a prerequisite to project approval. The number of villagers, male and female who attended the relevant village Assembly should be noted.

- APVDP personnel should make direct contact with women's groups (usually UWT's) existing in pilot villages. Meetings should be held with them explaining the purpose of APVDP and its capacity to directly assist such groups with income-generating projects. This exercise should be carried out with UWT personnel (District) and Ujamaa Women's Co-ordinators where they exist.

- Where women's groups are not in existence APVDP personnel, again in conjuction with UWT/Ujamaa personnel, should mobilise their establishment with a view to creating unbrella organizations for the development of women's productive groups. These groups should be assisted to appoint leaders, committees, and to define income-generating projects which APVDP may assist them with. These groups should also be assisted to identify productive activity improvement projects which may or may not be income-generating, but which will bear a direct relation to the development of their productive capability (training,

crop experimantation, animal husbandry skills, etc).

Again in conjunction with UWT/Ujamaa personnel, identified village group leaders and secretaries should be included in training courses District UWT/Ujamaa personnel will identify as elemental to their Plan of Action. (Such training as noted above should receive support from APVDP).

- The project Request Form submitted by Village Councils when seeking support from APVDP should be revised to include the following questions:

- How will this project affect women in your village?

- How many women have been involved in the planning of this project, and how were they involved?

- How many women will be involved in implementing this project? How will thier involvement be organised?

- Similarly in the detailed Project Proposal written at the District level which accompanies these village Request Forms, a section should be inserted in which the involvement and benefit to women is specified.

4. <u>The Manpower Implications for APVDP to Effectively Involve Women in Development</u>:

One of the reasons singled out earlier in this paper for the failure of APVDP to effect its commitment to involve women equitably and significantly in development processes, was the current workload of the key operational staff in the field, Rural Development Specialists (RDS's).

It is the conclusion of this study that these staff, both male and female, have the capacity to implement the village and district level elements of the strategy proposed above. To do so however will require a notable re-ordering of priorities, given the greater amount of time that is involved in working, for example, with woman's groups in the village. Village Councils already have acquired considerable skills in project formulation and particularly management. As is the case with all sub-groups in the village, be they men or women, these skills are yet to be acquired, and the mobilisation and acquisition of these will be time-consuming.

In view of the ever-increasing workload of RDS's in a wide range of planning and implementation activities it may be adviseable for APVDP to employ/appoint a single individual to spearhead these activities. In regard to village level work the point must be re-em phasised however that RDS's appear more than capable to do this work, and could do so if a re-ordering in their priorities takes place. Certainly many elements of the village-level strategy recommended immediately above should be performed by RDS's within their existing terms of reference/ priorities.

In regard to activities recommended at the regional level an even greater time commitment is required. This study does not see how the existing complement of APVDP staff can implement these tasks without again a re-ordering of priorities.

To expect APVDP staff to mobilise changes in this field without reducing current workloads is unrealistic. The alternative is for the project to recruit an additional individual, to spearhead action on this front, working in conjunction with sectoral and district APVDP staff as relevant. It is this strategy which is recommended.

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APPENDIX A

Synopses of Five Village Project Proposals and Two District Level Proposals Formulated in the Course of this Study

1. Mat Marketing Centre

This project is designed to provide the 100 or so female mat producers in Mapea village (Magugu Ward) with a marketing centre in the village which will buy their products directly and sell them on their behalf. The production of Mats is currently limited by the fact that markets are distant and producers unable to travel to those places. The C Centre will in effect do that on their behalf.

In addition the current system of marketing in which each producer sells her own mats means that prices are being kept low as producers tend to under-cut each other to sell first. The fixing of prices, and the advantages gained from bulk selling, should enable the producers to gradually increase the price for their products.

The project is not directly income-producing. Rather it is viewed as a service project, assisting producers. The project is also viewed in one light as an experiment in centralised village marketing (and it is partly for this reason that a grant is being requested from the APVDP rather than a loan). The making of utility crafts represents a major source of income for women throughout Hanang and Mbulu Districts and the effectiveness of this project will be examined in that light. The total grant being requested to start the mat marketing centre is 23,300/-. The village Council has already provided the building which will act as the centre.

The implementor of the project is a recently-established Mat Marketing Committee, which comprised three members of the village UWT, three female Village Council members, the Village Chairman and Secretary. The Secretary will supervise the accounting of the project.

2. Tailoring Production Group

This project is to be implemented in Qameyo village (Madunga Ward). It proposes to establish a tailoring group, comprising 20 women from the village, firstly to acquire machine sewing skills, and secondly to acquire a regular income.

The project is also designed as a means to provide seed money for further woman's activities in the village; a monthly contribution of 400/- will be made to the village UWT for this pupose.

The Tailoring Group is considered a co-operative subsidiary of the Village Council, and as such its accounting procedures will be monitored by the Village Secretary.

The Department of Education in Hanang District has provided a home Economist to train the 20 women for an initial period of 2 months. A loan is being sought for building materials for the workshop, basic equipment, and starting capital, totalling altogether some 56,000/-.

3. Maize Mill

This project is to be implemented in Ayamango village (Gallapo Ward). The project originated from the UWT but is being implemented in close conjunction with the Village Council, which will own and operate the machine. The UWT committee has been active in all aspects of planning of the project, and will raise funds for providing the first dieseline required to run the machine. They will also mobilise female labour to ensure an equal input into construction of the building to house the machine and will appoint one of their members as 'accountant' to the enterprise. A proportion of the profit to be derived from the project when operational will go directly to the village UWT as capital for initiation of further projects. The total loan being requested from APVDP is 72,680/-.

4. Beer-Brewing Group

This project is to be implemented in Madunga Kati Village (Madunga Ward), by a group of 20 woman who have formed the production group. The intention of the project is to secure a regular income for these members from the brewing of beer five days a week. Women in Madunga Kati Village were generally anxious that their first co-operative income-generating project comprise a skill they already knew, and an activity they could be sure would be a success in the village. The total loan requested for this project is 26,520/-.

5. Women's Farmers Group

This group has been established in Qamayo village (Madunga Ward), comprising some 20 village women. They are seeking funds for the purchase of tools and a limited number of seeds and seedlings only. They intent to establish three plots over the next two months; a potato plot (1 acre) which the group regards as their 'cash crop'; a garden (½ acre) in in which they will grow nine nutritious vegetables for sale in the village; and an orchard (1½ acre) in which oranges, lemons, guava, and pawpaws will be planted as a source of longer-term income for the members of the group. The total grant requested is just over 5,000/-.

6. Book-Keeping Training for Village Women

This project has been formulated in conjunction with the Department of Ujamaa na Ushirika (Hanang) in response to a finding of this study that village group secretaries are entirely without book-keeping or accounting training, to the detriment of efficient project management. The intention is to provide 15 such secretaries with a three week course in basic accounting practice. This course will be run by the Dept of Ujamaa, as a component of its current book-keeping training being given to village shop managers, and village council secretaries, and at a higher level, to its own Ujamaa staff. The total grant required to hold this training course is 25,000/-.

7. Training in Project Planning and Management

This project is designed to provide 15 female government and party staff who work with village women in intensive training in project identification, formulation and management. The project arose out of a finding of this study that these staff are lacking in these skills, and perpetuating poor project planning in the villages. In many instances they fail to assist village women to develop projects at all, not knowing where and how to start. The total grant being requested for this project is 5,150/-.

The training will be carried out under the auspices of the Department of Ujamaa na Ushirika.